



U.S. Department of Justice

1961+
1946-1950 = 64 Webster Ave, Port Washington LI ny

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

July 28, 2005

b. 7-2-02 16+ 18+ 19+ 20+ nyc

MR ERNIE LAZAR
APARTMENT #6
577 SOUTH THORNHILL ROAD
PALM SPRINGS, CA 92264 7884

HQ 118-4047
#1 = 5/9/49
#35 = 5/27/69

#8 = list of articles 1937-8
#9 = background
#11

Subject: HUNTER, EDWARD

FOIPA No. 0997911- 000

Dear Mr. Lazar:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

1931-1937 = Int'l House Service
Jan 1938 - Jan 1939

Public Relations
Director for nyc
company
1925-8 resided
in Hankow China
& employed by
Hankow Herald
+ subseq. at
ny Sun = free
lance writer

Section 552

☒ (b)(1)

☒ (b)(2)

☒ (b)(3)

National Security Act of 1947

and CIA Act of 1949

☐ (b)(4)

☐ (b)(5)

☒ (b)(6)

☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

☒ (b)(7)(C)

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Section 552a

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327 page(s) were reviewed and 293 page(s) are being released.

☐ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:

☐ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.

☐ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Co-Director, Office of Information and Privacy, U.S. Department of Justice, Flag Building, Suite 570, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001 within sixty days from the date of this letter. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal" or "Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

20 E
Lt Col Gunther Hartel
American
Strategy Inc.
nyc

325-12-2368
b: 1-4-22
d: 5-30-99

NFO
3-4203
nyc
8-1967
300+
8-1257

Change for
American Security
Council 14
8-29-60
5-day school
my Schwarz
POD: miles in.
705
number 9 Konvick
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1-60 for distribution
leaflet on Dr.
Tyler Thompson
looking him to
subversion
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☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,



David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s) (2)

This is in further response to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request regarding Edward Hunter.

A search of the index to our central records system at FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ) has located one main file, identified as FBIHQ file 118-4047, responsive to your request. This file has now been processed pursuant to the provisions of the FOIA and all available information is enclosed with this letter.

Please be advised that an enclosure to serial 23 of FBIHQ file 118-4047, consisting of 204 pages, is being denied in its entirety. This document has been identified as the United States Senate Internal Subcommittee Executive Session (closed to the public) testimony of Edward Hunter. Please note that this information is from the Legislative Branch of the Federal Government and is not subject to the FOIA.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Serial Description ~ COVER SHEET 03/31/1949

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 34

Page 2 ~ b1
Page 3 ~ b1
Page 4 ~ b1
Page 5 ~ b1
Page 6 ~ b1
Page 7 ~ b1
Page 8 ~ b1
Page 9 ~ b1
Page 10 ~ b1
Page 11 ~ b1
Page 12 ~ b1
Page 13 ~ b7C
Page 14 ~ b7C
Page 15 ~ b7C
Page 16 ~ b7C
Page 17 ~ b7C
Page 18 ~ b7C
Page 19 ~ b7C
Page 20 ~ b7C
Page 21 ~ b7C
Page 22 ~ b7C
Page 23 ~ b7C
Page 53 ~ Duplicate
Page 54 ~ Duplicate
Page 55 ~ Duplicate
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Page 113 ~ b1
Page 142 ~ b1
Page 143 ~ b1

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SERVICE UNIT
SEARCH SLIP

F-19a

Supervisor Jones Room 4641

Subj: Werner, Paul

Exact Spelling _____
☒ All References _____
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Searchers
 Initial mal
 Date 4-14

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

100-32520-255
65-56402-1-1282
100-344757-368
61-7566-1718, 1978, 5
60-7326-17-1-29-41
100-161920-12991
65-16273-4876, 4840
4831, 4850
4-8-173-111
65-16273-4832, 4828
65-9266-137
65-16273-4828, 4853
100-287057-35
65-56402-1-1320 pg 11

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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SERVICE UNIT
SEARCH SLIP

F-19a

Supervisor Genier Room 4641

Subj: Oliver, pilot

Exact Spelling _____ Searchers _____
☒ All References _____ Initial W.P.
☐ Subversive Ref _____ Date 4-14-49
☐ Main File _____
☐ Restricted to Locality of _____

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SERIALS

<u>105-16273</u>	<u>4933</u> <u>4875</u>
<u>104-28561</u>	<u>19</u>
<u>105-16273</u>	<u>5028</u>
<u>100-228551</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>100-344757</u>	<u>206</u>
<u>100-203581</u>	<u>4466</u> <u>pg 25</u>
<u>Oliver pilot I</u>	
<u>100-38444</u>	<u>19</u>
<u>Oliver pilot R</u>	
<u>100-5557</u>	<u>114x</u> <u>3</u> <u>1120</u>
	<u>2 51x</u> <u>64x</u> <u>2 31</u>
	<u>2 41</u> <u>75</u> <u>75</u>
	<u>2 45x1</u> <u>64x1</u>
	<u>2 145</u> <u>8</u> <u>2</u>

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Date 4-14-49

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4-8-79

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BY 60-1127

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Subj: OLIVER P. I. A.Address: 3721 S. ST. N. W.
WASH. D. C.

Birthdate:

SUPV: Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-9-00 BY 60260 NLS/SP/05R# 402Date 4/14

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FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

✓ 100 - 7326 - 147
 ✓ 106 - 1090 - A -
 NY. Post 1/25/45
 ✓ 100 - 3 - 4 - 6474 p 60;
 ✓ 100 - 3322 - 2
 ✓ 100 - 326127 - 76, 1
 ✓ 65 - 56402 - 2477 p 180;
 ✓ 100 - 326127 - 5
 ✓ 62 - 58854 - A -
 NY. Post 4/23/48
 ✓ 94 - 8 - 173 - 108 (on Reel)
 ✓ 65 - 16273 - 4834
 ✓ 100 - 164772 - 564
 ✓ 94 - 8 - 91 - 40, 41
 ✓ 100 - 32520 - 253
 ✓ 100 - 267360 - 530, 25

Subj: Victor R. RIELAddress: 2775 MORRIS AVE
Bronx, N. Y.Birthdate: FORMATION CONTAINED SUPV: Jones

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

MisDATE 2/9/00 BY 60262 NLS/EP/ASR# 20Date 4/14

Searcher

Initial mmwFILE NUMBERSERIALS

~~✓~~ 62-82195-
~~✓~~ 62-83517-2,
~~✓~~ 6-116-
~~✓~~ 94-8-173-106
~~✓~~ 100-236194-133
~~✓~~ 61-10498-854 p.8;
~~✓~~ 65-33154-7,
~~✓~~ 61-10802-10,
~~✓~~ 39-915-1250,
~~✓~~ 100-31299-1
~~✓~~ 100-38444-5
~~✓~~ 61-7559-2152 p.2
~~✓~~ 3677X 3883X
~~✓~~ 375X 40639X
~~✓~~ 39-915-392
~~✓~~ 65-30257-10X,

SERVICE UNIT
SEARCH SLIP

F-19a

Supervisor

Jones

Room

4641

Subj:

Victor Riesel

☒ Exact Spelling

Searchers

☒ All References

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Date *4/14*

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FILE NUMBER

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✓ 65 - 37325 - 1

✓ 61 - 10498 - 919 p 136

✓ 01 - 786 - 1X

✓ 01 - 3045 - 1

✓ 62 - 77826 - 3

✓ 74 - 1333 - 659

✓ 100 - 38444 - 8

✓ 62 - 29734 - 728

✓ 61 - 10498 - 919 p 32

✓ 39 - 915 ent 1 - 69

✓ 97 - 427 - 81

✓ 100 - 260007 - 415

✓ 61 - 7562 - 1556

Newspaper Clipping 2/28/48

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DATE *2-9-00* BY *60262/25* Initials *EP/BS*

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Supervisor J. J. J. Room 4641

Subj: Victor Riesel

☒ Exact Spelling
☒ All References
☐ Subversive Ref
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Searchers
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Date 4/14

130 Restricted to Locality of _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

✓ 100-7801-217
✓ 6-116-3
✓ 94-8-239-14
✓ 100-0-22348
✓ 100-135 Sub 34-16
✓ 100-3-88-201
✓ 100-2155-10
✓ 100-46297-1
✓ 101-2987-1
✓ 64-211-22-141
✓ 100-3-2879 X1
✓ 40-3798-520
✓ 61-7603-1026
✓ 94-36664-8

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Supervisor JonesRoom 4641Subj: Victor Riesel☒ Exact Spelling

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FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

100-24499-103100-36491-965-44184-161-7559-10662 p.3639-915-38061-7474-133100-138754-A-Chicago Ann. 11/5/4761-10355-132100-24499-60100-209336-894-8-173-101100-3-2426100-3-89-196

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SERVICE UNIT
SEARCH SLIP

F-19a

Supervisor Jones Room 4641

Subj: Russel, Victor

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☒ All References _____
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 Restricted to Locality of P. 26

Searchers
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 Date 4-14-49

FILE NUMBER SERIALS 3

100-25869-A Daily worker 3-28-44
61-7562-A N.Y. Post 8-28-47
122-12 1
97-401-A N.Y. Post 10-17-48
100-120818-A N.Y. Post 8-4-47
100-32049-A Daily worker 3-24-44
100-24427 51
100-275683 89
62-77787 1816 pg 81
100-54502 96 pg 3
94-8-173-A Daily worker 10-30-46
100-138754 224 pg 57
62-56921 187
62-42818 739 pg 6

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Supervisor J. A. [unclear]

Room 4641

Subj: Russell, Vincent

Exact Spelling

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Date 4-14-49

926

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4

<u>100-36491</u>	<u>145 pg 89</u>
<u>94-8-173</u>	<u>116</u>
<u>97-244</u>	<u>119</u>
<u>100-115875</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>100-121114</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>100-275683</u>	<u>280</u>
<u>100-202534</u>	<u>179 pg 2</u>
<u>65-58040</u>	<u>78</u>
<u>62-43818</u>	<u>570 pg 7, 16</u>
<u>61-10490</u>	<u>478 pg 8</u>
<u>100-3</u>	<u>2003 pg 7</u>
<u>100-15252</u>	<u>7X, SNIV</u>
<u>100-3-63</u>	<u>742</u>
<u>94-8-173</u>	<u>102</u>

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Date 4-14-49

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FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

<u>100-33049-A</u>	<u>Daily worker</u> <u>12-9-46</u>
<u>94-8-173</u>	<u>87, 100</u>
<u>100-3-4</u>	<u>4087</u>
<u>100-282357</u>	<u>78, 84</u>
<u>100-7660</u>	<u>2635</u>
<u>101-330</u>	<u>483 pg 28</u> <u>347 pg 20</u>
<u>100-195220</u>	<u>49</u>
<u>100-28126</u>	<u>26</u>
<u>105-4631</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>102-39749</u>	<u>485</u>
<u>102-798</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>100-212076</u>	<u>27</u>
<u>102-43818</u>	<u>743</u>

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Subj: Russel, Victor

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Searchers
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Date 4-14-49

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

100-340620 2
100-7801 129
100-23049-A marker-4-21-46
100-341561 9
94-8-173 89
94-8-1189 3
100-343513 2
100-7660 3551
100-3-89 193
100-33049-31 28 pg 11
140-3798 519
100-3 1603
100-236194 517
100-179959-A marker 2-13-48

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DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

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FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

~~100-34793-6~~~~100-24499-78~~~~61-10355-133~~~~62-60243-28~~~~100-94242-2~~~~100-25869-6~~~~6-116-1~~~~94-8-173-147X~~~~100-3-A-7.4. post 10/30/46~~~~100-7254-132~~~~64-2502-40~~~~102-1-35-96~~~~65-58040-11~~~~100-307959-22~~

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DATE 2-9-00 BY 60261NLS/EP/BS

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Supervisor Jones Room 4641Subj: Victor Riesel☒ Exact Spelling

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R448

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

100-260007-314End p5;100-28831-20122-12-A-Stanford Advocate1/27/4861-8648-6594-1-17998-659100-168670-294-36511-79Encl p5;94-8-173-115100-353453-1Encl p. 412

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DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

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Searchers
Initial mmw
Date 4/14

R448
FILE NUMBER SERIALS

✓ 100-7326-19
✓ 100-7801-141
✓ 66-2542-3-34-1X4
✓ 61-7559-11878
✓ 100-3-89-A
neg. post 12/31/48
✓ 48-3798-A
neg. post 12/28/48
✓ 102-4-35-17
✓ 97-218-1-6
✓ 61-7559-12334
✓ 4797
✓ 100-119-40
✓ 16-116-2

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Supervisor Jones Room 4641

Subj: Victor Riesel

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Initial mmw
Date 4/14

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FILE NUMBER SERIALS

100-24427-19
100-236636-2
100-37226-209
100-24427-21
194-8-173-105
100-24427-25
100-347211-6 p 3 p 12
100-354327-1
100-83517-2
100-360461-1
100-34543-32
100-3 sub 4-1310
100-120818-421
100-3-89-A

7/1/48 Post 8/18/48
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-9-00 BY 69267ALS/EP/RS
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Supervisor Jones Room 4641

Subj: Victor Riesel

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Date 4/18/4

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61-7559-11522
61-5124-8
61-10537-3
65-30257-4
61-10498-291p5
61-9556-75
61-10498-1 (initials info)
65-2540-755
39-915-228X1 293X5
318X 506, 677
100-5740-1
100-6754-14
94-8-173-97
100-296500-329

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DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

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R448

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100-3-89-196,

100-3-89-A-

Daily Mirror 3/7/49.

65-29162-96,

39-915-1315,

61-7550-2239,

NY Post 8/25/47.

160-38444-11

94-8-1003-74,

39-915-666,

65-30257-11, P2

61-10498-923

94-8 sub 1003-74,

100-12632-75.

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DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

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DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

✓ 94-8-173-93

✓ 100-128634-22

✓ 100-7660-4186 p6

✓ 100-174219-3

✓ 100-178600-A

✓ N.Y. Post 3/19/43

✓ 100-58019-26

✓ 100-28488-110

✓ 100-42027-135

✓ 100-120818-942

✓ 100-3-A-

✓ N.Y. Post 12/19/46

✓ 100-2894-31

✓ 62-53388-A

✓ Daily Worker 4/19/46

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SERVICE UNIT
SEARCH SLIP

F-19a

Supervisor Jones

Room 4641

Subj: Victor Riesel

☒ Exact Spelling

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☒ All References

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2467-1

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

✓ 77-13677-29

✓ 62-43818-958

Encl p 154

✓ 100-59071-12

✓ 100-3-75-A

Peoples Voice 1/10/48

✓ 100-347537-3

✓ 62-43818-289

✓ 100-173277-5

✓ 100-269973-5

✓ 100-71866-7

✓ 4-8-173-120

✓ 100-88434-17

✓ 61-10355-350

✓ 4-40403-1

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DATE 2-5-00 BY 60267ALLS/EP/16 Initialed 16

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Supervisor GomezRoom 4641Subj: Victor Riesel☒ Exact Spelling

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FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

100-282357 91100-326127 6,7100-236194 70194-8-173 97100-7660 2649, 374461-7562-144961-5124-44100-10123-15.6Xp.938100-34624-AN.Y. post 10/2/47100-120818-ADaily Worker 1/27/48100-2877-ADaily Worker 8/14/47

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

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SERVICE UNIT

F-19a

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor

Room

4641

Subj:

Russel Victor

Exact Spelling

All References

Subversive Ref

Main File

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Searchers

Initial W.P.Date 4-14-49

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

R4674

100-144976 8

100-3 2109

100-25869-A Daily worker 11-26-43

14-1404 11

100-3-4-A worker 11-21-43

61-7562-A Daily worker 1-8-44

100-25869-A Daily worker 1-18-44

100-33049-A Daily worker 2-2-44

4-8-172-A NY Post 2-9-44

24-26511 29

100-26844-A NY Post 8-19-48

100-25869-A Daily worker 3-6-44

Daily worker 2-15-44

100-3 2116

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-9-00

BY 60267NLS/FP/BS

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18

In reply, please refer to
File No.
RECORDED - 13618-4047 -
EA-20

Date:

May 9, 1949

To: **SAC,**

Washington Field

From: **J. Edgar Hoover, Director**

BY SPECIAL INQUIRY

Subject:

EDWARD J. BRENNAN

DATE 11-19-2004
CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm Derivative
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3-3(1) 11-19-2029
Classification per OCA letter dated 04-04-2001
Info. remains classified
#997911

You are requested to conduct a thorough, discreet investigation concerning the character, reputation, patriotism and loyalty of the above-named individual. Unless specifically requested, teletype summaries should not be furnished to the Bureau. The original and two copies of the reports are required.

Instructions contained in Bureau Bulletin No. 75, Series 1948, Section C, dated December 30, 1948 should be followed in conducting this investigation.

Cover all leads applicable to your territory appearing on photo-static copies of the attached application.

Your attention is directed to paragraph 3, on page 3 of above referenced Bureau Bulletin. The instructions contained therein MUST be followed.

This case is to be assigned immediately and reports of the completed investigation must be submitted Air Mail, Special Delivery, where proper, to reach the Bureau by

Address: **June 8, 1949.**

64 Webster Avenue, Port Washington, L. I., N. Y.

Birth date:

Birthplace: **July 2, 1902**

Tolson
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Egan
Gurnea
Harbo
Mohr
Pennington
Quinn Tamm
Nease
Gandy

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 8
MAY 9 1949 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

2-7-00
CLASSIFIED BY **US/EF-60267** (Derivative)
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

SECRET

52 JUL 26 1949

SAC, Washington Field

Check files of State, Army, Navy, IDAF, USC and BCIA.

ALL OFFICES

All interviews with applicant's references and social acquaintances should be conducted by experienced, mature and well-qualified agents.

No reference should be made in your reports to information concerning applicant appearing in connection with the case entitled [REDACTED]

~~Inclosure~~

b7C

cc - New York (SPECIAL DELIVERY) (ENC.)
Newark (SPECIAL DELIVERY) (ENC.)
New Haven (AMSD) (ENC.)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-7-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remains unclassified

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____

SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

R#

(50)

Date

4-4

Searcher

Initial

57

FILE NUMBER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SERIALS

DATE

2-7-00

BY 60267 NLS/EP/B

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98-15038

1/1 Dec. Co. 201 10/10/99

6206, 6219

see ref to file

65-5372-8

100-189008-8

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65-4476-5X2, 12

100-189008-45

100-335015-12

100-33853-1-3

100-129996-1

100-120818-1/184

Address: _____

Birthdate: _____

SUPV: _____

Misc: _____

Searcher

R# _____

Date 4-4

Initial

37

FILE NUMBERSERIALS

b7C

100-3-4-5872 ✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-7-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

June 14, 1949

Transmit the following message to:

SAC, NEW YORK

URGENT

EDWARD HUNTER, [REDACTED] REPEP SA THOMAS J. KINOUE DATED JUNE THIRTEEN AT
NEW YORK SUTEL [REDACTED] IN REPEP.

HOOVER

118-4047

IEN:PMD

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-3-01 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Remain unclassified

RECORDED - 128

118-4047-21

33 JUN 23 1949

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EX-117

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

2-7-00

CLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/BS (D. H. H. H.)
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

RECEIVED READING ROOM
JUN 14 4 12 PM '49
F. B. I.
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

SENT VIA

4-28 PM

Per

CS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

~~SECRET~~

C
UNCLASSIFIED

NEW YORK 9 FROM WASH D C

14

4-28 P

b3

SAC U R G E N T

b6

b7C

EDWARD HUNTER, [REDACTED] REREP SA THOMAS J. MINOGUE DATED JUNE
THIRTEEN AT NEW YORK SUTEL VERIFICATION [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] IN REREP.

HOOVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-3-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remains unclassified

END

ACK PLS

CORR LINE TWO WORD SEVEN [REDACTED]

ACK PL

WA R 9 NY

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~

~~SECRET~~

2-7-00
CLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/BS (Derivative)
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Fletcher

DATE: May 11, 1949

FROM : Mr. Easen

Remain unclassified

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

SUBJECT: EDWARD HUNTER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

The above-named individual

is believed identical with the
Edward Hunter mentioned in the case entitled

ACTION TAKEN:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-3-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BSTwo photostatic copies of Edward Hunter's personal history
statement are attached for inclusion in [] file and to be
furnished the New York office, if deemed advisable.Attachment
WPJ:brm
118-4047

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAY 17 1949
★ MAY 17 1949 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SECRET

57 JUN 23 1949
2432-7-00
CLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/BS
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

SAC, Los Angeles

SAC, New York

By 31, 2949

RE: [REDACTED]

Reference is made to Bureau File No. 118-4047.

[REDACTED] listed by the applicant as a social acquaintance, is presently residing at [REDACTED]

(S)

Please handle. Buded is June 01st next.

✓ cc: Bureau (118-4047)

DATE: 11-19-2004
CLASSIFIED BY: AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bem
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3:3(1) 11-19-2029
Classification per OGA Letter dated 04-04-2001
Info. remains classified
#997911

SPICED OLIVE

SPICED
118-1967

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b3

[REDACTED]

(S)

2-7-00
CLASSIFIED
BY

118-4047

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

May 25, 1949

SAC, Boston

SAC, New York

DATE: 11-19-2004
CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm Derivative
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-19-2029

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Info. remains classified
#997911

b3

EDWARD HUNTER /

Reference is made to letter to Washington Field dated May 9, 1949, and Bufile 118-4047. Applicant lists employment from January, 1938 to January, 1939 by Ward, Wells and Dreshman, New York City, as public relations director. His supervisor was [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] who is now at [redacted]
[redacted] Boston is requested to interview. Dated is June 8, 1949. [redacted]

b1

b3

(S)

b1

b3

cct Bureau (118-4047)

10M/bp
118-1967

2-9-00

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~ (Derivative)

~~118-4047-12~~

MAY 20 1949

MAY 12 1949

24

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

DATE: 11-19-2004
CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm Derivative
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-19-2029
Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Info. remains classified

#997911

✓ BALTIMORE FROM BOSTON 6-7-49 1:00 P. M. EDT

SAC.....URGENT.....

EDWARD HUNTER [REDACTED] BUFILE ONE EIGHTEEN DASH FOUR
NAUGHT FOUR SEVEN. ~~APPLICANT~~ EMPLOYED JAN., THIRTYEIGHT TO JAN.,
THIRTYNINE BY WARD, WELLS AND BRESHMAN, NYC AS PUBLIC RELATIONS
DIRECTOR, UNDER [REDACTED]

b1
b3
b7C

[REDACTED] PRESENTLY AT [REDACTED] INTERVIEW.

BUDED JUNE EIGHT NEXT. APPLICANT [REDACTED] RUC HERE.

(S)

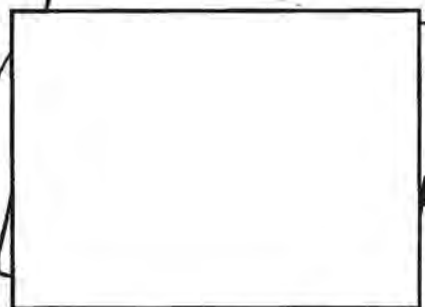
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END

JJH:cm

118-1239

CC BUREAU ✓



118-4047-
RECORDED

31 JUL 13 1949

(S)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

12-14-80

CLASSIFIED BY ~~WLS/EP-60290~~ (Derivative)
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

SECRET

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

~~SECRET~~

URGENT

Transmit the following message to: JUNE 21, 1949

SAC, NEW YORK

EDWARD HUNTER, [REDACTED]

REBUTEL JUNE FOURTEEN. SUTEL IMMEDIATELY [REDACTED]

HOOVER

LEN:ers
118-4047

b3
b6
b7C

RECORDED - 52

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-3-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Remains unclassified

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

RECEIVED REL. 16 ROOM
JUN 21 1 02 PM '49
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

~~SECRET~~

SENT VIA _____

Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

JUN 31 1949

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-3-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Remains unclassified

NEW YORK 9 FROM WASH DC

21

1-33 P

SAC

U R G E N T

EDWARD HUNTER, [REDACTED]

REBUTEL JUNE FOURTEEN. SUTEL

IMMEDIATELY [REDACTED]

HOOVER

HOLD PLS

~~2-7-00~~

~~60267NLS/EP/BS (derivative)~~

WASH FROM NEW YORK 8 22 3-25

DIRECTOR URGENT

EDWARD HUNTER, [REDACTED] REBUTEL JUNE TWENTYONE LAST.

[REDACTED] THROUGH RECORDS

NYC [REDACTED]

SDNY.

SCHEIDT

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Remains unclassified

DATE 4-3-00

60267NLS/EP/BS

REC'D: DEC 142

EX-9A

2-7-00

60267NLS/EP/BS (Derivative)

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5 JUL 8

~~SECRET~~ *464*

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

DATE: 11-22-2004
CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm Derivative
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-22-2029
Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Info. remains classified
#997911

W

M.

WASHINGTON FROM NEW YORK 60 10 10-45 P
DIRECTOR URGENT

b3

12-14-99
CLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/BS
DECLASSIFY ON: ZET

EDWARD HUNTER, [REDACTED] REBUFILE ONE ONE EIGHT DASH FOUR ZERO
FOUR SEVEN AND BULET TO WFO MAY NINE LAST. REPORT BEING TRANSCRIBED
AT NY. WILL REACH BUREAU JUNE THIRTEEN.

~~SECRET~~
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HOLD PLS
50 JUL 1

RECORDED - 142
EX-121
SCHEIDT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

6

~~SECRET~~

WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK FROM WASH. FIELD

b3 12

DIRECTOR AND SAC

EDWARD HUNTER

FILE ONE ONE EIGHT DASH FOUR NAUGHT FOUR
SEVEN. REBUIET MAY NINE LAST. REFERENCE OLIVER PILAT PRESENTLY IN
N. Y. OFFICE, N. Y. POST, IN CHARGE OF LABOR DESK. INTERVIEW.

HOTTEL

NEK:az

118-4203

DATE: 11-19-2004

CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-19-2029

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Info. remains classified

#997911

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(5)
RECORDED - 142
EX-123

118-4047-7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

12-14-99
CLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/BS
DECLASSIFY ON: 1

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

SECRET

FILE NO. 118-4203

REPORT MADE AT WASHINGTON, D.C.	DATE WHEN MADE 6-20-49	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5-11, 16, 18; 6-10-49	REPORT MADE BY NATHANIEL E. KOSSACK, SA NEK:NB
TITLE EDWARD HUNTER		CHARACTER OF CASE b3	
CLASSIFIED BY 60267NCEP/BS DECLASSIFY ON: 25X			

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Passport information set out including list of writing and foreign employments.

Applicant arrested in Manchoukuo by Japanese for allegedly striking a policeman. Reported by the State Department to have been "tailless" in criticism of Japanese occupation forces. No record for applicant in HCUA, CSC, ONI, IDA or IDAF.

b6

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REFERENCE:

Bureau File No. 118-4247.
Bureau Letter dated May 9, 1949.

DETAILS:

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

STATE DEPARTMENT

Files of the Passport Division at the State Department reflect that Passport 206406 was issued to the applicant on July 20, 1922, for newspaper work and to all countries. According to this file, the following subsequent passports were issued:

Passport 251915 dated June 18, 1946, to Japan and other countries for newspaper work; Passport 122 issued in Hankow, China, for registration purposes; Passport 66 issued August 26, 1932, at

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 118-4247-8		RECORDED - 136
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 3 - Bureau 1 - Washington FI		b1 b3 INDEXED - 136 SEE REVENUE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.		
SECRET		ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.		

~~SECRET~~

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b7C

Mukden, China, for registration purposes. This passport which was renewed August 23, 1934, [redacted]

[redacted] Passport #182 was issued the applicant August 19, 1938 at Barcelona, Spain.

The file further disclosed that in an application for the renewal of the last named passport on September 13, 1938, the applicant listed the following known writings:

"Enemies at Democracy's Table", October, 1938, Esquire.

"Streamlined Atrocities", June, 1938, Coronet.

"The France and Germany of Asia", April, 1938, Esquire.

"The Isms Are After Me", July, 1938, Harpers.

"New Tunes for Old Wars", December, 1937, Esquire.

"When Its Happened Over Here, Ken", and "Hate Made To Order", July, 1937, Coronet.

This file also disclosed he resided in Hankow, China, and was employed by the Kankow Herald in 1926 to 1928 and subsequently employed as a journalist for the New York Sun and Consolidated Press Association. According to this file he described himself as a free lance writer and stated that he had also been formerly Acting News Editor of the Japanese Advertiser in Tokyo (American owned enterprises).

b1

[redacted] (s)
In this passport registration he disclosed his mother, ROSE WEISS, was born in Czechoslovakia, and was a naturalized citizen. The applicant's applications for passports all reflected that he was born July 2, 1902, at New York.

b6

Visa records and records of the Division of Communications and Records disclosed that [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] These files contained correspondence concerning the return of the applicant's mother-in-law to Manchuria and the possible entry of the applicant's father-in-law into this country. This file also contained a separate file dealing with the report of arrest of the applicant in Harbin, China. The details of this arrest

~~SECRET~~

were reported by the American Consular General at Harbin, China, and are as follows:

On May 20, 1932, at about 11:00 p.m., the Consular General heard that the Manchoukuo police were trying to arrest HUNTER, then staff correspondent of the International News Service. According to the Consular General, the police claimed that HUNTER had struck one of their officials. HUNTER stated to the Consular General that he was accosted by a policeman after entering the hotel and that he pushed the policeman's restraining arm away and pushed him back out of his path. According to this report, HUNTER complained about the policeman to the officer in charge but was nevertheless about to become arrested. Report continued and stated that to avoid complications, the Consular General took HUNTER into custody and convinced him to write a letter of apology to placate the policeman. The Consular General commented in a report that Mr. HUNTER'S tactics with the police were "tactless" and that his dispatches were not at all complimentary to the Japanese in Manchoukuo.

This file also contained dispatches from the Immigration and Naturalization Service sources which described Mr. HUNTER as a person "who has scored sensational and brilliant beats since he went to Mukden last October. The first neutral correspondent of any nation to penetrate the Manchoukuo fighting area."

b3

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] In this file was a letter dated November 9, 1937, to the late President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT from Mr. HUNTER containing a copy of his article in Esquire entitled "New Tunes for Old Wars". In this letter he stated he resigned as foreign correspondent for Hearst, Inc., as a "protest to the distortion of foreign news to fit editorial policies regarding American politics." He stated further, "I believe in a free press." The article "New Tunes for Old Wars" predicted World War II and based its prediction on the failure of the diplomats in coming out into the open and not being aware of their nation's war intentions.

Also contained in this file was a notice that on August 21, 1936, the applicant and his wife were evacuated from Barcelona on the ship OKLAHOMA.

Mr. LOUIS N. DRURY, Security Division, Department of State, advised that a check of the other pertinent indices of the Department of State fails to disclose any information concerning the applicant.

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MISCELLANEOUS

There is no record for the applicant [redacted] in the indices of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, files of the Civil Service Commission, files of the Office of Naval Intelligence, and the Intelligence Division of the Air Force.

A review of the files of the Intelligence Division of the Army disclose no derogatory or further pertinent information.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

WFO 118-4203

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ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Teletype to New York to interview Reference OLIVER PILAT,
New York office of the New York Post.

~~SECRET~~

Date: June 23, 1949

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

RECORDED
TO:

EX-28

Director
Central Intelligence Agency
2210 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

DATE: 11-19-2004
CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-19-2029
Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remains classified

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From: John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Subject: EDWARD HUNTER

b1

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There are transmitted herewith the following reports covering the investigation conducted by this Bureau concerning the above-captioned individual:

Report of Special Agent Thomas J. Minegus dated June 13, 1949 at New York, New York.

Report of Special Agent Thomas J. Minegus dated June 17, 1949 at New York, New York.

Report of Special Agent Nathaniel E. Kossack dated June 20, 1949 at Washington, D. C.

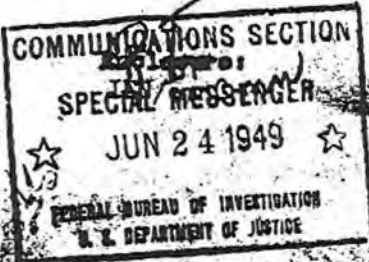
Report of Special Agent Donald V. Weir dated June 10, 1949 at Baltimore, Maryland.

Report of Special Agent Lewis E. Ross dated June 8, 1949 at Los Angeles, California.

Report of Special Agent James M. Tennant dated June 6, 1949 at New Haven, Connecticut.

Report of Special Agent Thomas P. Jones dated May 19, 1949 at Newark, New Jersey.

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Nichols
Belmont
Clegg
Glavin
Harbo
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12-14-99
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DATE: 11-19-2004

CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-19-2029

Derivative

Classification per FOIA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remains classified

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

NY

FILE NO. 100-19671 JJM

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 6/13/49	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/12, 13, 18/1-3, 6, 8-10/49	REPORT MADE BY THOMAS J. MINOGUE
TITLE EDWARD HUNTER WHERE SHOWN ON			CHARACTER OF CASE <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Born New York City, July 2, 1902. No record of attendance at Stuyvesant High School, New York City. Employments, New York City and abroad, verified through records, former employer, and references. Social Acquaintance [redacted] will not recommend because of HUNTER'S association with New York Post, and because of membership in Newspaper Guild. Former supervisor, International News Service, advised he recalls other newspapermen referred to HUNTER as "radical." Other social acquaintances, references, neighbors and former neighbors all recommend as to character, reputation and loyalty. HUNTER described as anti-Communist who led fight in guild to remove Communist leadership. No record, HUNTER or family, New York or Nassau County Police Departments or Credit Bureau, Greater New York.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION. b7C

REFERENCE:

Bureau file 100-4047. ~~SECRET~~
Bureau letter to Washington Field 5/9/49.

AGENCY 100-19671-ASD
REQ. REC'D 4-1-54
REP'T FORW. 4-27-54
BY W. J. P. [signature]

DETAILS:

Birth

AGENCY 100-19671-051-4
REQ. REC'D 7-15-54
REP'T FORW. 7-29-54
BY JAW-941

The records of the Board of Health, New York, New York, reflected that birth certificate number 13610 was issued to EDWARD HUNTER, born July 2, 1902, in Manhattan. His father's name is given as WILLIAM HUNTER, born England.

1- Photostat to
IS Div by R/S
9/12/61.
WAA/941

APPROVED AND
FORWARDED:SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

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COPIES

(3) - Bureau

1 - New York

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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-19-2029

~~SECRET~~

NY 118-1967

his mother's as ROSE WEISS, born Austria.

Education

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[redacted] Record Clerk, Stuyvesant High School, 15th Street and First Avenue, New York City, advised that she was unable to locate any record of an EDWARD HUNTER, born July 2, 1902, as having attended that school.

Employment

The employment of Mr. HUNTER by the Japan Advertiser and by the Hankow Herald was verified by [redacted] now employed New York City. [redacted] advised that he was the owner of the Hankow Herald in the 1920's, and that he had hired Mr. HUNTER to run that paper while [redacted] was in the United States. [redacted] At that time, according to [redacted] HUNTER was employed by the Japan Advertiser, and was highly recommended to [redacted] by other newspapermen assigned to the Far East. HUNTER ran his newspaper for approximately one year in 1928 - 1929, stated [redacted] and did an honest professional job with some good innovations on the paper. [redacted] described HUNTER, whom he said he sees often at the Overseas Press Club, as a good newspaperman whose character and reputation are definitely of the highest calibre. He described HUNTER as being violently anti-Communist and loyal to the United States. He said that he knew of no reason why HUNTER would not make an excellent United States employee.

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[redacted] who is a reference of Mr. HUNTER'S, advised that he was employed by the International News Service in Manchuria in 1931, and that he had hired EDWARD HUNTER for that service to do a Manchurian assignment. He stated that immediately prior to this, HUNTER was editor of the PEKING Leader, which HUNTER had left of his own accord. He stated that HUNTER had done a good job for International News Service in China, and had gone to other parts of the world following this assignment. [redacted] stated that as a member of the Overseas Press Club, he sees HUNTER often, and pointed out that HUNTER has been an

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NY 118-1967

influential member of this club for a long time, and presently is a member of the Board of Governors of the club. He stated that he would heartily recommend Mr. HUNTER for a position of trust and responsibility with the United States Government, describing him as a loyal American of good repute and high moral standards.

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[redacted] International News Service, 235 East 35th Street, advised that while he was unable to locate a card on EDWARD HUNTER, the years 1931 to 1937, were substantially correct as the period of HUNTER'S employment, to the best of his recollection. [redacted] stated that he seemed to recall some of HUNTER'S colleagues describing HUNTER as a little "radical" but could not recall who the persons were or what they meant specifically by this term. [redacted] said that whatever political leanings HUNTER might have had never showed up in his writings, and he described HUNTER as being an excellent reporter who was extremely factual in his copy. He said that HUNTER was overseas during the whole period of employment, and had returned to the United States in 1937, to bring his wife home. There was no place for HUNTER in the domestic field with International News Service, and so they had let him go, according to [redacted] who said that he personally could recommend HUNTER without reservation as a loyal American of excellent character and as possessing fine reputation in newspaper circles.

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[redacted] Ward, Wells and Dreshman, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, advised that his records reflected that EDWARD HUNTER was employed as a publicity man from July 15, 1939 to June 8, 1940; and on a part-time basis in 1941, dates unknown. His social security number was given as [redacted] and his address as 3820 Waldo Avenue, Bronx. [redacted] stated that he recalled HUNTER as being extremely capable, far above average in intelligence, and as having a fine character and excellent reputation. [redacted] said that he had no reason whatsoever to doubt or question HUNTER'S loyalty to this country, and recommended him without reservation for a position of trust and confidence. [redacted] further stated that the person who knew HUNTER best while he was an employee was [redacted] now residing in [redacted] He could furnish the names of no other employees now at Ward, Wells and Dreshman who would have known HUNTER personally.

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NY 118-1967

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to [redacted] New York Post, advised that Mr. HUNTER had been an employee of the New York Post since July of 1940, although during part of this time he had been in the Office of Strategic Services during the war. He stated that HUNTER was a good newspaperman whose character and reputation were both far above average, and whose loyalty to the United States was unquestionable. [redacted] said that HUNTER is anti-Communist to the point where it sometimes showed in his work, but added that he did not consider this a serious deficiency inasmuch as the instances where this occurred were rare. [redacted] explained that the New York Post had recently undergone a crisis which was precipitated by the attitude of Mr. T. O. THACKERAY, husband of DOROTHY SCHIFF THACKERAY, owner of the paper, towards HENRY WALLACE and the North Atlantic Pact. According to [redacted] THACKERAY had endorsed WALLACE in an editorial on the eve of Election Day, and had subsequently opposed the North Atlantic Pact. The result of the stand of Mr. THACKERAY on these issues was that his wife fired him, and is presently divorcing him. THACKERAY and those who were known at the Post to endorse his policies were all fired, according to [redacted] and one of these was [redacted]

[redacted] According to [redacted] HUNTER and [redacted] detested each other, and the main reason for this was HUNTER'S out spoken hatred of the Communists and fellow-travellers, with which [redacted] took sharp issue.

[redacted] recommended HUNTER without reservation for a position of trust and confidence in the United States Government.

[redacted] He stated that he had no idea where [redacted] could be reached. [redacted] said that the persons who knew HUNTER best were OLIVER PIAT, labor editor, and VICTOR RIESEL, former New York Post columnist now with the New York Daily Mirror. The interviews with these gentlemen are set out under the heading "References."

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References

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[redacted] listed as a reference, was interviewed. The results of this interview is set out under the heading "Employment."

Mr. VICTOR RIESEL, Columnist, New York Daily Mirror, advised that he has known EDWARD HUNTER since 1937, when both were in

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NY 118-1967

the anti-Communist faction of the Newspaper guild. He stated that HUNTER is a splendid person in every respect, and completely trustworthy. He said that he considered HUNTER a good security risk, and would recommend him without reservation for a position of trust and confidence with the United States Government, and added that he knew of nothing of a derogatory nature concerning HUNTER. Mr. REISEL stated that he had never heard a fellow newspaperman refer to HUNTER as a "radical" in all the years he had known him.

Mr. OLIVER PILAT, reference, who is presently employed as the labor editor of the New York Post, advised that he has known HUNTER since 1933, when both were in Paris, where HUNTER was assigned by International News Service. He said that in his capacity as foreign correspondent for International News Service, HUNTER covered assignments in Manchuria, Ethiopia and Spain. He described HUNTER as a great newspaperman whose outstanding quality was a passionate regard for factual reporting. He furnished the information that HUNTER had organized a secret anti-Communist faction in the newspaper guild, and was largely responsible for getting the Communist leadership out of the guild. Mr. PILAT said that HUNTER had married a White Russian, while in China with whom he is also acquainted, and he stated that both Mr. and Mrs. HUNTER hate Communism bitterly. He recommended HUNTER and his wife as normal, well-regarded people of good reputation, and said that both were loyal Americans.

Mr. PILAT said that in all his experience abroad and in the United States, he had never heard any newspaperman refer to HUNTER as a "radical."

It is noted that [redacted] Time Magazine, was listed as a reference by Mr. HUNTER. [redacted] Time Magazine, advised that [redacted] was in Europe on an assignment, and would not return until June 30, 1949. b7C

Social Acquaintances

[redacted] Bulova Watch Company 62-10 Woodside Avenue, New York City, advised that she had met Mr. and Mrs. HUNTER through a mutual acquaintance [redacted] in 1946 or 1947. She said that Mr. and Mrs. HUNTER, who have two children, keep a beautiful home and appear to be very well regarded in the

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NY 118-1967

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community in which they reside. [] said that she has visited the HUNTERS numerous times socially, and that from what she knows of Mr. HUNTER, she felt that he would make an excellent Government employee. She said that from discussions held at the HUNTER'S home, she was convinced that both of them were loyal American citizens who understood what was going on in the world today and who both appreciated the role the United States must play. [] recommended HUNTER without reservation.

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[] New York City, advised that he has been a neighbor of Mr. HUNTER'S for approximately 5 years, and that a casual acquaintance had been struck up between them over this period, as a result of which they have entertained each other. He said that HUNTER was a good family man whose reputation in Port Washington, was above reproach. He stated that Mr. HUNTER was active in the Boy Scouts and other community affairs. []

[] He said that he had formed the opinion that HUNTER was an intelligent person. [] advised that he understood that HUNTER was employed by the New York Post, and was a member of the Newspaper Guild; and he added that he disagrees with the philosophy of the New York Post and has heard that the guild is "radical." For these reasons, [] said that he would choose some one else for a position involving national security. He pointed out, however, that he has never discussed anything of a political nature with HUNTER, and has no reason other than those given above for not recommending him; and he further said that it is possible that HUNTER does not agree with the philosophies expounded by the New York Post and is merely earning a living there.

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[] Overseas Press Club, 1475 Broadway, New York City, advised that she knows Mr. HUNTER, his wife and children quite well, and said that she could not recommend him too highly from the standpoint of character, reputation, and patriotism. She said that Mr. HUNTER is a highly respected member of the Overseas Press Club, and that she knew of nothing which would preclude his employment by the Government in a position of trust and confidence.

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NY 118-1967

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[redacted] advised that he became acquainted with Mr. HUNTER when [redacted]

[redacted] Since that time, according to [redacted] he and Mr. HUNTER have become firm friends. He stated that he has the utmost regard for HUNTER and his wife, and knows of no reason why HUNTER would not make an excellent employee of the United States Government.

[redacted] New York Herald Tribune, 230 West 41st Street, advised that he met HUNTER in Japan in 1927, [redacted] HUNTER later went to Manchuria, then to Ethiopia and Spain, according to [redacted] who stated that HUNTER had quit International News Service because he had been requested by his supervisors there to "slant" his stories concerning Spain. HUNTER, who was described by [redacted] as an excellent reporter, refused to do this, and quit soon thereafter. HUNTER is a man of temperate habits, excellent moral character, and good reputation [redacted] stated, and he recommended HUNTER without reservation.

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Neighborhoods

At Port Washington, New York

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In the vicinity of 64 Webster Avenue, Port Washington, New York, [redacted] advised that she has known Mr. and Mrs. EDWARD HUNTER for approximately four years, and that during that period, she had never noted or heard anything of a derogatory nature concerning either of them. She described Mr. and Mrs. HUNTER as good neighbors, and recommended both as loyal Americans of high moral character.

[redacted] who said she has known the HUNTERS for seven or eight years, explained that they attended the church of which she was a member. She stated that there was no doubt whatsoever in her mind concerning the HUNTERS loyalty to the United States, and recommended both with no reservations as to character and general reputation.

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[redacted] advised she has known the HUNTERS for two years, and could recommend them very highly as

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NY 118-1967

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to character, reputation, and loyalty. She said that the HUNTERS have numerous Russian visitors who are, she understood, White Russians. [redacted]

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[redacted] Webster Avenue. [redacted]
[redacted] Webster Avenue, and [redacted]
Webster Avenue, advised they knew the HUNTERS only casually and did not feel competent to comment on their character, reputation or loyalty.

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In the vicinity of 21 Fifth Avenue [redacted]
[redacted] Fifth Avenue, who said he knew the HUNTERS for two years while they resided on that Avenue, said he knew of nothing derogatory concerning the HUNTERS, and recommended them as to character, reputation and loyalty.

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[redacted] Fifth Avenue, stated she knew the HUNTERS for three years as neighbors. She described them as well-educated people of the highest type, and recommended Mr. HUNTER for a position of trust and confidence with no reservations.

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[redacted] Fifth Avenue, advised she has resided in the neighborhood only one year, and was not acquainted with the HUNTERS.

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[redacted] Fifth Avenue, has only resided there six months, and likewise stated she did not know the HUNTERS.

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In the vicinity of 95 Park Avenue, [redacted]
[redacted] Park Avenue, who said she knew the HUNTERS for two years, stated that the HUNTERS were well regarded when they lived on that street as civic minded, well-educated people, and recommended Mr. HUNTER as to character, reputation and loyalty.

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NY 118-1967

to character, reputation, and loyalty. She said that the HUNTERS have numerous Russian visitors who are, she understood, White Russians.

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[redacted] Webster Avenue, advised that she knew the HUNTERS only casually and did not feel competent to comment on their character, reputation or loyalty.

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[redacted] Webster Avenue, and [redacted] Webster Avenue, both expressed the same sentiments as [redacted]

b7C

In the vicinity of 21 Fifth Avenue [redacted] Fifth Avenue, who said he knew the HUNTERS for two years while they resided on that Avenue, said he knew of nothing derogatory concerning the HUNTERS, and recommended them as to character, reputation and loyalty.

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[redacted] Fifth Avenue, stated she knew the HUNTERS for three years as neighbors, she stated. She described them as well-educated people of the highest type, and recommended Mr. HUNTER for a position of trust and confidence with no reservations.

b7C

[redacted] Fifth Avenue, advised she has resided in the neighborhood only one year, and was not acquainted with the HUNTERS.

b7C

[redacted] Fifth Avenue, has only resided there six months, and likewise stated she did not know the HUNTERS.

b7C

In the vicinity of 95 Park Avenue [redacted] Park Avenue, who said she knew the HUNTERS for two years, stated that the HUNTERS were well regarded when they lived on that street as civic minded, well-educated people, and recommended Mr. HUNTER as to character, reputation and loyalty.

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NY 118-1967

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[redacted] Park Avenue, who knew the HUNTERS two years, furnished substantially the same information as [redacted] and recommended Mr. HUNTER without reservation.

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[redacted] Park Avenue, stated she had been the owner of the house which the HUNTERS rented from 1940 to 1942. She described them as excellent tenants who met their financial obligations regularly, and recommended Mr. HUNTER as to character, reputation and loyalty. *that*

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[redacted] Park Avenue, said she recalled the HUNTERS as having resided in the vicinity, but stated she did not know enough about Mr. HUNTER personally to be able to comment on his character, reputation and loyalty. *comment*

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It is noted that the names of [redacted] Webster Avenue, and [redacted] are set out by Mr. HUNTER as neighbors. Inquiry at these addresses reflected that both families no longer reside in the vicinity. *There present where people is not known.*
At Bronx, New York

b7C

[redacted] 3820 Waldo Avenue, Bronx, New York, advised that the records of prior tenants were kept by the Columbia Management Corporation, 551 5th Avenue, New York City. He stated that no one named HUNTER had resided in the building since [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] apartment [redacted] advised that he did not recall a family named HUNTER as having resided in the building, although he had been a tenant there for fifteen years.

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[redacted] apartment [redacted] who said she had lived in the house since 1936, did not recall a family named HUNTER as tenants in the house. Both tenants interviewed were the only ones, according to the superintendant, who had resided in the building long enough to have known HUNTER. It should be noted that both tenants pointed out that there are over 40 families residing at that address at all times.

[redacted] Columbia Management Company, advised that they had taken over that building in 1942. The former owner, according to [redacted] died soon thereafter, and he could not

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NY 118-1967

suggest any source which would verify HUNTER'S residence at that address.

Credit and Criminal

The records of the New York Police Department, and the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, were checked, but no record was located of EDWARD HUNTER, his wife, or his parents.

[redacted] Bureau of Information, Nassau County Police Department, advised he could locate no criminal record of Mr. HUNTER, his wife, or his children.

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- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BUREAU

SECRET

NY

FILE NO. 118-1967 JJM

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 6/17/49	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6/17/49	REPORT MADE BY THOMAS J. MINOGUE
TITLE EDWARD HUNTER			CHARACTER OF CASE <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

DATE: 11-22-2004
 CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-22-2029
 Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
 Remains classified

- RUC -

REFERENCE:

Bureau file 118-4047.
 Bureau letter to Washington Field 5/9/49.
 Report of SA THOMAS J. MINOGUE at New York dated 6/13/49.
 Bureau teletype to New York 6/14/49.

*Photo
ACSI by reg.
4-19-61*

AGENCY ICC - ASD
 REQ. REC'D 4-6-51
 REP'T FORW. 4-27-51
 BY W. J. P. 9/2/51

AGENCY *Photo 051*
 REQ. REC'D 7-15-51
 REP'T FORW. 8-2-51
 BY *JAW mch*

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 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

*1-Photo lot to
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CC TO: *NSA*
 REQ. REC'D. *29-85*
 FEB 17 1965
 ANS. BY: *[Signature]*

12-14-99
 CLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/RS
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *Charles [Signature]*

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NY 118-1967

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DETAILS:

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT BUREAU

FILE NO. 118-1257

REPORT MADE AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND	DATE WHEN MADE 6-10-49	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6-8, 9-49	REPORT MADE BY DONALD V. WEIR : AC
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TITLE

EDWARD HUNTER

AGENCY *Photo - AC*

REQ. REC'D *7-15-54*

REP'T FORW. *2-3-54*

BY *J. W. P.*

CHARACTER OF CASE

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SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

[Redacted] advised that the applicant and his family were of excellent character, loyal associations and loyal citizens of the U.S. *[Redacted]* applicant for about 2 years in 1939 and 1940 for Ward, Wells and Freshman Company of NYC.

b7C

REFERENCE:

Bufile 118-4047.
Boston teletype to Baltimore dated 6/7/49.

AGENCY *IC*

REQ. REC'D *7-15-54*

REP'T FORW. *2-3-54*

BY *W. J. P.*

DETAILS:

- AT ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND -

Photo - AC - 54. by reg. 4-19-61 BAA/vm

b7C

[Redacted] when interviewed at the Carvel Hall Hotel, advised that he had first known HUNTER when both had worked on the "Newark Ledger" newspaper in Newark, New Jersey, and the applicant was 18 years old. He said that HUNTER's father was English and his mother Viennese. HUNTER ran away from home seeking to enter the newspaper business. He first worked on the Brooklyn Eagle in New York and then became a Sunday Editor for the "Newark Ledger" at the age of 18 or 19. Later he worked for the "Sunday American" in New York City and then travelled throughout the country, working on many papers, one in Florence, South Carolina, one in New Orleans, Louisiana, and one in San Francisco, California. HUNTER then went with the International News Service and worked on the Paris edition of an American newspaper. Hearst sent him to cover the first Spanish Civil War and he entered Ethiopia with the Italians. During the second Spanish Civil War, he resigned from the Hearst papers and went to Japan and China. He worked for a while on the Tokyo "Advertiser" and spent about 10 years in the Orient.

1-Photos sent to IS Div by R/S, 9/12/61 WAW/gul

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *M. W. McFarlane*

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

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b3

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1 - Baltimore

1 cc. CIA 6/12/61

118-4117-11 X

RECORDED - 136

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~~SECRET~~

BA 118-1257

b7C

Applicant met his wife [redacted]
Her father was an architect and formerly an officer in the Czar's navy. He was a White Russian who had escaped to China. Her mother was Viennese and employed by the United States Government in China. After they married, they went to Paris and later he worked on the New York "Post" in New York City.

[redacted] further advised that in 1939, when he was employed by Ward, Wells and Dreshman of New York City, he hired the applicant as a public relations director, to help promote funds for the building of hospitals in various communities. He worked there for about two years and resigned because his wife did not want him to travel so much, and because he found a position paying more money. He said that he had last heard from HUNTER two years ago and he was then working for the New York "Post" in New York City.

b7C

[redacted] described both HUNTER and his wife as being people of the very highest integrity and morals and with high ideals. He said that he "would have no hesitancy in trusting HUNTER with his last cent or his last chance for salvation". He added that HUNTER was thoroughly versed in international politics and customs and without a question he, as well as his wife, was a loyal and true American.

b7C

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **LOS ANGELES**

FILE NO. **118-726**

REPORT MADE AT LOS ANGELES	DATE WHEN MADE 6/8/49	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6/7,8/49	REPORT MADE BY LEWIS E. ROSS jm2 b3
TITLE EDWARD HUNTER		CHARACTER OF CASE <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>	
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> <p>12-14-99 CLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/BS DECLASSIFY ON: 25X</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION</p> </div> </div>			
<p>SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div> <p>California, recommends applicant as to character, reputation, reliability, patriotism, and loyalty. b7C</p> <p>DATE: 11-22-2004 Derivative CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-22-2029</p> <p>Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001</p> <p>REFERENCE: Bureau file 118-4047 - RUC -</p> <p>Remains classified New York letter to Los Angeles dated 5-31-49.</p>			
<p>DETAILS:</p> <p><u>SOCIAL ACQUAINTANCE</u></p> <p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE</p> <p>AGENCY: REQ. REC'D: REP'T FORW. BY: b1 b3 b7C</p>			
<p>(formerly [redacted]) advised that he has known the applicant since [redacted] when [redacted] He stated that he has been in touch with HUNTER socially since that time. He said that the applicant's wife was originally a Russian and has been teaching in a refugee camp which is anti-Russian, but could not give any details regarding her activity at the camp. He stated that the applicant and his wife are both very anti-Communist and definitely loyal Americans. He advised that he considered the applicant to be of excellent character and reputation and a reliable, patriotic citizen. He stated that he knew of no relatives or contacts of the applicant who are residing in a foreign country.</p>			
<p>1- Photostat to IS Div by R/S, 9/12/61 WAM/gel</p> <p>LEB 11 1002</p> <p>REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN</p>			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED:		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
b1		b3	
b3		b7C	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT:		RECORDED - 136	
3 - Bureau (AMSD)		EX-28	
2 - Los Angeles		AGENCY: REQ. REC'D: REP'T FORW. BY:	
JUL 26 1949		SECRET	

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

NH FILE NO. **118-528 DB**

REPORT MADE AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.	DATE WHEN MADE 6/6/49	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/13/49	REPORT MADE BY JAMES M. TENNANT
TITLE EDWARD HUNTER			CHARACTER OF CASE <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>
Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001			
Remains classified			
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: <div style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 200px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></div> highly recommends applicant as to reliability and character, and states his loyalty and patriotism to this country are unquestionable. <div style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></div> knows of no relatives of applicant living abroad.			
<p>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE</p> <p>DATE: 11-22-2004 CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bem Derivative - RUC - DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-22-2029</p>			
REFERENCE: Bufile 118-4047. Bureau letter to Washington Field dated 5/9/49.			
DETAILS: <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 15%;"> <p>b1</p> <p>b3</p> <p>b7C</p> </div> <div style="width: 85%;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 500px; height: 1.2em; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <p>advised he has known applicant approximately eight years and stated that <div style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 150px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></div> and is a man of outstanding ability; further, that for many years he was a newspaper correspondent in China and has traveled all over the world. He further advised that the applicant is thoroughly reliable and that his character and reputation are above reproach. He further advised that the applicant's associations are unquestionable; further that the applicant is a patriotic and loyal American citizen <div style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></div> would recommend the applicant highly for a position of trust and confidence. He further stated that he knows of no relatives of applicant living abroad.</p> </div> </div>			

AGENCY
REQ. REC'D
REP'T FORW.
BY

1- Photostat to IS Dir, 9/12/68
by R/S. WAA/gel
SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

AGENCY
REQ. REC'D
REP'T FORW.

APPROVED AND FORWARDED *J. G. Keason* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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COPIES OF THIS REPORT

b1 3 - Bureau
b3 2 - New Haven

118-4047-13

RECORDED - 136

EX-28

(5)

7-2024

DATE 12-2-2004
CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bm
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(2) 11-22-2029

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remains classified

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1
THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

FILE NO. **118-729 MMCD**

REPORT MADE AT NEWARK	DATE WHEN MADE 5/19/49	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 5/12,16/49	REPORT MADE BY THOMAS F. JONES
TITLE EDWARD HUNTER 12-14-99 CLASSIFIED BY 60267 NLS/EP/BS DECLASSIFY ON 25X			CHARACTER OF CASE b3
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Naturalization records for ROSE and EDWARD HUNTER, Applicant's parents, checked. Credit and PD checks negative. <i>common</i> - RUC -			
REFERENCE: Bureau File 118-4047 Bureau letter to Washington Field Office 5/9/49.			
DETAILS: <i>Photostatic copy sent to IS Div by R/S 9/12/61. WAA/gel</i> [Redacted] Clerk, Naturalization Bureau, Jersey City, New Jersey, made available the naturalization record for ROSE HUNTER and EDWARD WILLIAM HUNTER. The record for EDWARD WILLIAM HUNTER was found under Petition Number 68612 and reflects that EDWARD HUNTER was born September 16, 1882, in London, England; nationality - English; and arrived in New York City on January 4, 1902. This record further reflects that EDWARD WILLIAM HUNTER became a naturalized citizen of the United States on June 25, 1936. <i>Club ROSE by R/S 4/19/61</i> <i>EDWARD HUNTER</i> The naturalization record for ROSE HUNTER was found under Petition Number 70101 and reflects that ROSE HUNTER was born on February 18, 1883, in Carlsbad, Czechoslovakia; nationality - German. The record further reflects ROSE HUNTER entered the United States on June 25, 1936. <i>ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE</i> AGENCY 100-111-1 REQ. REC'D 6-9-51 REP'T FORW. 7-27-51 BY [Signature]			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED: S.K. McKee		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES 111-4047-114X RECORDED - 136 PROPERTY OF FBI This confidential report and its contents are loaned to you by the FBI and are not to be distributed outside of agency to which loaned SEE 1 ADD. DISSEMINATION			
COPIES OF THIS REPORT b1 b3 3 - Bureau 2 - Newark 1cc. CIA 6/23/49			

NK 118-729
WicD

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States as ROSE WEISS in November of 1893, at New York City, and became a naturalized citizen of the United States on April 12, 1937.

Sergeant Prints of the Hackensack, New Jersey Police Department advised his department has no record of ROSE and EDWARD HUNTER.

There is no record for ROSE and EDWARD HUNTER at the West New York, New Jersey Police Department.

There is no record of either EDWARD or ROSE HUNTER at the Passaic and Bergen County Credit Bureau, Paterson, New Jersey.

- REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN -

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BUREAU**

NY FILE NO. 118-1967 DC/bpt

REPORT MADE AT NEW YORK	DATE WHEN MADE 1/27/50	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 12/15, 23, 24/49; 1/4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16, 20, 23, 25, 26/50	REPORT MADE BY THOMAS J. MINOGUE
TITLE EDWARD HUNTER			CHARACTER OF CASE <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%;"></div>

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remains unclassified

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

*SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.*

*Photostatic copy
sent to IS Dir
by R/S 9/12/61.
WAA/gel*

b1
b2
b6
b7C
b7D

*Photo - ACC II
by R/S 4/19/61
Bim/vtr*

AGENCY/CC OSD
REQ. REC'D 4-6-51
REP'T FORW 4-27-51
BY CVR [signature] 2-9-50

Applicant:
all unknown to informants familiar with more prominent members of Communist Party. No record at ~~NY~~ NYC Police Department.

VMS

LEB 1 1302
AGENCY/CC OSD
REQ. REC'D 7-15-51
REP'T FORW 8-2-51
BY [signature]

*60267NLS/EDM/CC
(divisive)*

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: *Edward Schell* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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1 - New York

<p>118-1967-15</p> <p>RECORDED</p> <p>128</p>	<p>1430 218</p> <p>118-1967-15</p>
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-3-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

NY 118-1967

REFERENCE:

Bureau file 118-4047.
Bureau letter to New York dated 12/13/49.

DETAILS:

[redacted] Port
Washington, New York, was re-interviewed by
SA WILLIAM A. JOHNSON at her place of employment
which is [redacted] Port
Washington, New York. She stated that her previous statement that [redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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In an article dated March 14, 1949, the "New York Times" described this organization as "an amalgam of all anti-Communist Russians seeking the overthrow of the Soviet regime."

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NY 118-1967

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It is noted that [redacted]

[redacted]

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This Informant had met EDWARD HUNTER on two or three occasions, and HUNTER appeared to be a person of good character and reputation. [redacted]

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In this same regard, Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, who is in a position to furnish information concerning prominent White Russians in New York City, advised that [redacted] was unknown to him, as well as to the numerous White Russian sources which he had checked.

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In addition to [redacted] the following additional interviews were conducted by SA WILLIAM A. JOHNSON in the vicinity of Port Washington:

b7C

[redacted] who advised that she has been a neighbor of the HUNTERS for approximately three years, stated that she has only met [redacted] on one occasion, and therefore does not know the family at all well. She pointed out, however, that they appear to

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NY 118-1967

be very fine people and live very quietly. According to [redacted] the HUNTERS do not have many visitors and she has never noticed any meetings or other large gatherings in the HUNTER home. [redacted]

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[redacted] who stated that she has known the HUNTERS as neighbors for approximately three years, advised that, although she has never entertained them at her home, they appear to be very respectable people and she has never seen nor heard anything that would cause her to question the character or loyalty of Mr. or Mrs. HUNTER. [redacted] suggested to Agent JOHNSON that [redacted] of [redacted] be interviewed.

b7C

It is noted that [redacted] was interviewed in May, 1949 by SA CHARLES M. CURRY. When re-interviewed by Agent JOHNSON [redacted] advised that she had no knowledge of [redacted]

b6

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[redacted] advised Agent JOHNSON that he has known the applicant and his wife for approximately four years and that both are fairly regular attendants of his church. He stated that he considered both the HUNTERS to be good Christians and stated that he knew nothing that would reflect unfavorably as to their loyalty. [redacted]

b7C

Confidential Informants [redacted] all of known reliability, who are in a position to furnish information concerning the more prominent members of the Communist Party in the vicinity of New York City, advised that they were not acquainted with EDWARD HUNTER [redacted]

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The records of the Bureau of Special Services and Investigations, New York City Police Department, were checked by SA AUGUST J.

NY 118-1967

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MICEK against the names of [REDACTED] but no record
was located in any instance.

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN

~~SECRET~~

NY 118-1967

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS

The Confidential Informants mentioned in the report of SA THOMAS J. MINOGUE, dated January 27, 1950, at New York, are as follows:

b2
b7C
b7D

[redacted] contacted by SA WALTER A.
WAGENHEIM

[redacted] contacted by SA WALTER
A. WAGENHEIM

[redacted] contacted by SA RICHARD T.
CLANCY

[redacted] contacted by SA RICHARD T.
CLANCY

[redacted] contacted by SA RICHARD T.
CLANCY

[redacted] contacted by SA RICHARD T.
CLANCY

[redacted] contacted by SA RICHARD T.
CLANCY

[redacted] contacted by SA RICHARD T.
CLANCY.

~~SECRET~~

RECORDED

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 06-10-2005
CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/CAL/sw
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-10-2030

#997911

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remains classified

15

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

February 14, 1950

Director
Central Intelligence Agency
2210 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

b3

Attention:

[Redacted]

EDWARD HUNTER

[Redacted]

(S)

b1
b3

Reference is made to your letter of December 7, 1949.

There is transmitted herewith the following report covering the investigation conducted by this Bureau concerning the above captioned individual.

Report of Special Agent Thomas J. Minogue dated 1-27-50 at New York.

[Signature]
Enclosure

118-4047

JGS:mvw

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-14-00 BY 60322 UCBAW

- Tolson _____
- Ladd _____
- Clegg _____
- Glavin _____
- Nichols _____
- Rosen _____
- Tracy _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Nease _____
- Gandy _____

BY SPL. MSGR
FEB 14 1950
COMM - FBI

2-7-00
CLASSIFIED BY ~~SP-1~~ (Derivative)
DECLASSIFY ON: ~~SP-1~~

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN - 9 1950

TELETYPE

ALL INFO

RECEIVED

2-7-00

MAILED

60267 NLS/EP/BS

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remains unclassified

WASHINGTON 35 FROM NEW YORK 9 7-12 P

DIRECTOR URGENT

b3

EDWARD HUNTER [REDACTED] REBUFILE ONE EIGHTEEN DASH FOUR NAUGHT FOUR SEVEN.
INQUIRIES AMONG WHITE RUSSIANS IN NYC CONTINUING. NY RPT WILL
REACH BUREAU BY JAN. FOURTEENTH.

SCHEIDT

RECORDED - 128

HOLD

ALL
INFO
EXCEPT
AS
NOTED

CLASSIFIED
DECLASSIFIED

2-7-00 60267 NLS/EP/BS (derivative)

SECRET

SAC, New York

Director, FBI

~~SECRET~~

December 13, 1949

b3

EDWARD HUNTER

DATE: 11-22-2004

CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm Derivative

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-22-2029

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Info. remains classified

#997911

RECORDED - 123

(New York File 118-1967)

118-4047-17

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent Thomas J. Minogue, dated June 13, 1949 at New York in the above entitled case.

[Redacted block]

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[Redacted block]

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[Redacted block]

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Surep by January 9, 1950.

118-4047

IEN:kmc

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

2-7-00

CLASSIFIED BY ~~118-4047-17~~ (Derivative)
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 4
DEC 13 1949
COMM - FBI

~~SECRET~~

Handwritten signatures and initials

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 11-22-2004

CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm Derivative

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-22-2029

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Info. remains classified

#997911

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New York, N.Y.
May 26, 1950

Director, FBI

~~CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON: 25X~~

~~Classified by SP7 Mac/moe~~
~~217490~~

Re: [REDACTED]

Dear Sir,

~~DECLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/BS~~
~~ON 4-3-00~~

[REDACTED] Confidential Informant [REDACTED] advised that this number was listed, on the above dates, to EDWARD HUNTER, 64 Webster Avenue, Port Washington, Long Island, NY.

Attention is directed to Bureau file 118-4047 in the case entitled "EDWARD HUNTER, [REDACTED] In HUNTER'S Personal History Statement, enclosed with Bulet 5/9/49, his address is shown as 64 Webster Avenue, Port Washington, L.I., and his telephone number as 1445R. It is also stated that he had resided at that address from 1946 to the time of application. It is noted that HUNTER stated [REDACTED]

It is recalled that [REDACTED]

It is also noted that information concerning HUNTER appears in connection with the case entitled, [REDACTED]

The above is being forwarded to the Bureau for whatever action is deemed advisable.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD SCHMIDT, SAC.

cc NY 118-1967

EFM:SMS

100-91470

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NOT RECORDED
86 JUL 13 1950
12-14-99

#901761

ORIGINAL FILE IN

~~SECRET~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: May 20, 1953

FROM : V. P. KEAY

-DATE: 11-22-2004

CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bsm

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-22-2029

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Derivative

Tolson	_____
Ladd	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Clegg	_____
Glavin	_____
Harbo	_____
Rosen	_____
Tracy	_____
Gearty	_____
Mohr	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Sizoo	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Info. remains classified

#997911

SUBJECT: EDWARD HUNTER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

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The captioned individual was investigated by the Bureau
in 1949. [REDACTED]

In 1952 Hunter testified before the Senate Internal Security
Subcommittee (McCarran Committee) concerning John Paton Davies, who was
the subject of a Loyalty investigation conducted by the Bureau. (121-
18528)

Hunter was interviewed by the Bureau in connection with the
afore-mentioned investigation.

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ACTION:

The above is being directed to the attention of the Loyalty
and Espionage Sections. Information concerning Hunter appears in the
cases entitled [REDACTED]

No further
action will be taken by the Bureau with regard to the name check pending
[REDACTED]

1 - Mr. Callan
1 - Mr. G. H. Stanley
1 - Mr. Branigan
118-4047
SJP:fjb

53 JUN 4 1953

~~SECRET~~

2-7-00

NLS/EP-60267- (Derivative)

18 MAY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 06-10-2005

CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/CAL/sw
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-10-2030

#997911

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Remains classified

~~SECRET~~

August 9, 1954

2-8-70

CLASSIFIED BY

DECLASSIFY ON

60267NLS/EP/AS

EDWARD HUNTER

Born: July 2, 1902

New York City, New York

4-3-00

b3

There are attached hereto reports of an investigation conducted by this Bureau concerning Edward Hunter.

(118-4047)

On May 26, 1950, subsequent to the completion of the attached applicant investigation concerning the captioned individual conducted by this Bureau in 1949, the following information was received concerning Edward Hunter:

According to a confidential and reliable informant during [redacted]

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Another confidential and reliable informant advised that the above number was listed on the above dates to Edward Hunter, 64 Webster Avenue, Port Washington, Long Island, New York. The nature of the calls is unknown. It was noted that on his Personal History Statement, submitted in connection with the above investigation, Hunter's address was shown as 64 Webster Avenue, Port Washington, Long Island, New York.

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It was also noted that Hunter stated [redacted]

(S)

CLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/AS
DECLASSIFY ON

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Tracy _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

Orig. to OSI-4
RR: July 15, 1954
62-60527-34554
J.A. Whitaker:kec
Attachment

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

RECORDED - 4

EX-129

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

AUG 11 1954

132

19

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

The files of this Bureau further reflect that

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Hunter, on his Personal History Statement, gave 3224 Melba Avenue, Bronx, New York, as his address from 1938 to 1940. However, it is noted on your attached Personal Statement of Hunter it is indicated that he resided from 1938 to 1940 at 15 Park Avenue, Port Washington, New York. [REDACTED]

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The foregoing information is furnished to you as the result of your request for an FBI file check and is not to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearance of the individual involved. This information is furnished for your use and should not be disseminated outside of your agency.

~~SECRET~~

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 11-22-2009
CLASSIFIED BY: 60290 BCE/cal/bsm Derivative
DECLASSIFY ON: ESR-3.3(1) 11-22-2029
Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Info remains classified
#997911

August 11, 1954

EDWARD HUNTER

Reference is made to the reports concerning Edward Hunter, which were forwarded to the Office of the Secretary of Defense on April 27, 1954, pursuant to a name check request therefrom. These reports reflected the results of an applicant-type investigation which was conducted by this Bureau in 1949-1950. Subsequent to the completion of that investigation, the following information was received concerning Edward Hunter:

A reliable, confidential informant advised that [redacted]

[redacted] It was noted that on his Personal History Statement, submitted in connection with the request for the afore-mentioned investigation, Hunter's address was shown as 64 Webster Avenue, Port Washington, Long Island, New York. [redacted]

[redacted] characterized as reliable. [redacted]

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

Orig. to OSB
Request Received
W.L. Parham:vm

AUG 12 1954
132

CONFIDENTIAL

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Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Tracy _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

TO MR. GOULD, OSD
8-11-54. JDE

AUG 18 1954

EX-130

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Photo
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by 119
4/13/51
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The records of this Bureau reflect

Edward Hunter, 3820
Waldo Avenue, Bronx, New York. Hunter, on his Personal
History Statement, indicated 3820 Waldo Avenue, Bronx,
New York, as his address from 1938 to 1940.

The foregoing information is furnished to you
as a result of your request for an FBI file check and is
not to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearance of
the individual involved. This information is furnished
for your use and should not be disseminated outside of
your agency.

Note: 
and to OSI, 8-10-54. 

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DATE: 06-10-2005
CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/CAL/sw
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-10-2030
#997911

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remain classified

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI [REDACTED]

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK [REDACTED]

2/25/57

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4-7-60

~~60267/10267 (Derivative)~~

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NY files reflect HUNTER previously resided 3820
Waldo Avenue, Bronx, NY.

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EDWARD HUNTER, 3820 Waldo Avenue, Bronx, NY [REDACTED]

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- 4 - Bureau [REDACTED] (RM)
1 - New York (118-1967)
1 - New York (65-14702-sub D)
1 - New York [REDACTED]

HJM:MAK
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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NOT RECORDED
76 MAR 8 1957

INITIALS OF FILE

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Several references advise HUNTER very anti-Communist.

Authority requested to interview HUNTER regarding
any knowledge he may have concerning [redacted]
[redacted] HUNTER will not be questioned [redacted]

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KELLY

- 2 -

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Pic: er

3-7-57

Air-Tel

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~~118-4047 (u)~~

SAC, New York [redacted] Orig & 1)

[redacted]

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Reurairtel 2-25-57.

Authority is granted to interview Edward Hunter. Interview should be conducted by two experienced agents in accordance with existing instructions re interviews of security subjects.

b6 Hoover
b7C

[redacted]

cc - 1 - 118-4047 (Hunter) ~~(u)~~ ~~(c)~~ ~~(u)~~

ETT:els
(5)

NOTE: Hunter believed identical with associate of subject during 1956. [redacted]

[redacted] He was described by some persons as a radical and others as anticommunist. He is a former member of the American newspaper guild. Bureau files contain no information indicating an interview with him would be desirable. Not be

217490
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Declassify on: OADR 4/30/85

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

12-44-99
6026 NLS/EP/BS

- Tolson _____
- Nichols _____
- Boardman _____
- Belmont _____
- Mason _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Nease _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Room _____

DECLASSIFIED ON 1-5-2000 60267 NLS/EP/BS

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-84-2001
Info declass

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ORIGINAL COPIES FILED IN

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Nease _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

b3

3/24/59

UPI-118

(RED CHINA)

THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT
EDWARD HUNTER, AUTHOR AND STUDENT OF COMMUNISM IN ASIA, WILL TESTIFY
ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RED CHINA COMMUNES AT A PUBLIC HEARING ON MARCH

3/17--GE311P

Reache
file
118-4047

~~ALL INFORMATION
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DATE 2-8-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS~~

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128 MAR 24 1959

63 MAR 24 1959

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2-8-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Records Branch

3/17, 1959

☐ Name Check Unit - Room 6523
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☒ Attention Kellam
☒ Return to Mr. Sullivan 1523
 Supervisor Room Ext.

Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)
☐ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)
☐ Subversive References Only
☐ Nonsubversive References Only
☒ Main References Only

Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of _____
☒ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
☐ Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form

Subject Edward Hunter
 Birthdate & Place _____
 Address _____

Localities _____

R# _____ Date 3/17 Searcher Initials Boa/8m
 FILE NUMBER SERIAL

	26-191001	
	31-79313	
	42-99281	
	52-5322	
	52-1772	
NR	62-37406	
NR		
	118-4047	
	95-22328	b7C
N/I		
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N/I		
	25-399540	
	49-11791	
	98-15038	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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 DATE 2-8-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

DATE: 06-10-2005

CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/C
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-

#997911

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

UNITED STATES

Memor

Remains classified

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: February 27, 1961

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Trotter _____
Evans _____
W. C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

SUBJECT: ~~X~~ IN MANY VOICES--OUR FABULOUS FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS
BY EDWARD HUNTER, PUBLISHED BY NORMAN COLLEGE,
NORMAN PARK, GEORGIA
BOOK REVIEW

CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

CLASSIFIED BY 157-602673 (Derivative)
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

✓
Captioned book written by Edward Hunter, former editor, foreign correspondent, and author, has been reviewed by Central Research Section. The book presents a comprehensive analysis of the origin, scope, and present influence of the Spanish, German, Italian, Jewish, Slavic, and Asian press in the United States. Altogether, 162 existing periodicals are mentioned. These have been placed on the attached list for indexing as they constitute thumbnail identifications and descriptions of possible future value. The book will be placed in the Bureau Library.

Hunter states that the foreign-language press in America has always exerted immense influence here and abroad as witting or unwitting vehicles for the Americanization of their readers and, in the old countries, as missionaries for the American way of life. He also provides a cogent analysis of the menace posed by U.S. communist newspapers, of which he states, "The only thing American about them is their address."

ANTICOMMUNIST FOREIGN-LANGUAGE EDITORS NOT UTILIZED

For ability to appraise communist strategy, Hunter says the majority of Slavic language editors have few equals, because communism is no academic subject with them; they know the tactics from having seen them used against themselves. They know that liberty must be defended if it is to be preserved. Yet, Hunter writes, rarely is a foreign-language editor invited to community forums where theoreticians gather with social clubs to discuss communism. Consequently, the most important repayment they could give to their new country is denied them, and invaluable material fails to reach the general public as a result.

Enclosure

GLOBE
(10)

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Belmont

62-3645R 15 1961

EX 104

REC- 16

118-4047-21

② FEB 28 1968

1 - Mr. Suttler
1 - 118-4047
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - Section Tickler
1 - [REDACTED]

b7C

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum Sullivan to Belmont

Re: IN MANY VOICES--OUR FABULOUS FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PRESS
BY EDWARD HUNTER, PUBLISHED BY NORMAN COLLEGE
62-46855

THE COMMUNIST PRESS

Hunter states that the outright communist press is disarmingly small, but must be viewed exactly as Communist Party membership: A small dedicated core remains. These Party organs, he states, have these purposes: propaganda, conspiratorial and operational activity. Hunter uses the congressional testimony of John Lautner, former Bureau informant, to show how the communists exploit foreign-language groups through their newspapers. (p. 161)

MENTION OF THE FBI

The only direct mention of the FBI is the statement: "An FBI operative named Mr. Matt Cvetic, who held high posts in the Red network, exposed its [International Workers Order] innermost secrets." (p. 156)

THE AUTHOR

Edward Hunter was investigated by the Bureau in 1949 [redacted]
[redacted] He was described by
some persons as a radical, but by most as vehemently anticommunist. [redacted]
[redacted] (Hunter has written several anticommunist books and is now
writing a series of analytical articles on communism for "Counterattack," which
is "designed for the everyday American, so he can recognize Red traps."
(118-4047; 100-350512-866)

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RECOMMENDATIONS:

- 1.- For information
2. That the 162 foreign-language U.S. periodicals on the attached list be indexed.

S *over* *Q*

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ARABIC PERIODICALS

~~SECRET~~

- p. 52 ~~X~~ LEBANESE AMERICAN JOURNAL, English-Language Arab weekly, 3,000 circulation *U.S.A.*
- p. 52 ~~X~~ AL-HODA (Guidance), only Arabic daily in the United States, 3,000 circulation *U.S.A.*
- p. 52 ~~X~~ CARAVAN, THE, English-Language Arab weekly, published in Brooklyn, 4,000 circulation
- p. 54 ~~X~~ AL MASHRIQ (The Orient), weekly Arabic newspaper, Highland Park, Michigan, 5,000 circulation
- p. 54 ~~X~~ MERAAT-UL-GHARB (Mirror of the West), Arabic tri-weekly newspaper, New York City *U.S.A.*

SPANISH

- p. 58 ~~X~~ LAREDO TIMES, (Texas) bilingual Spanish daily, 16,000 circulation
- p. 58 ~~X~~ EL HERALDO de BROWNSVILLE, (Texas) bilingual Spanish daily, 13,000 circulation *Brownsville, Tex.*
- p. 58 ~~X~~ DIARIO LAS AMERICAS (Diary of the Americas), of Miami Springs, Florida, 17,000 circulation, a bilingual Spanish daily
- p. 58 ~~X~~ TAOS (New Mexico) NEWS, Spanish bilingual newspaper in the English-language, merged in early March, 1960, with the bilingual EL CREPUSCULO de la LIBERTAD (The Dawn of Liberty)
- p. 60 ~~X~~ EL ESPECTADOR (Spectator), a Pomona, California, Spanish bilingual weekly newspaper that began in 1945. Circulation 8,000
- p. 60 ~~X~~ LA GECETA, (The Gazette), Tampa, Florida, Spanish bilingual weekly newspaper with one page in Italian. Began in 1922. Circulation above 5,000

118-4047-31

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2-8-00 BY 60567ALS/ET/BS

- p. 61 ~~X~~ LA VERDAD (Truth), Corpus Christi, Texas, Spanish bilingual newspaper that began in 1942, and has 4,000 circulation
- p. 61 ~~X~~ LA PRENSA (The Press), Spanish bilingual newspaper of San Antonio, Texas, started in 1913; 12,500 circulation
- p. 61 ~~X~~ DUVAL COUNTY FACTS, San Diego, Texas, small weekly newspaper entirely in English for Spanish Americans
- p. 61 ~~X~~ TAMPA INTERBAY NEWS, (Florida) small weekly newspaper entirely in English for Spanish Americans
- p. 61 ~~X~~ EL DIARIO, Spanish daily newspaper in New York City; biggest circulating Spanish daily
- p. 64 ~~X~~ LA PRENSA, Spanish daily newspaper in New York City. N.Y. Circulation--12,000. First Spanish daily in the U. S. Founded 1912
- p. 65 ~~X~~ EL IMPARCIAL, San Juan, Puerto Rico, newspaper. A New York City publication also until September, 1959
- p. 67 ~~X~~ LA PATRIA (The Nation), once published by Jose Marti in New York City to further Cuban independence
- p. 68 ~~X~~ LA OPINION, Spanish-language newspaper, started in 1926. Circulation 13,000 daily, 15,000 Sunday. Believed published in Los Angeles Calif.
- p. 68 ~~X~~ EL CONTINENTAL, Spanish-language newspaper of El Paso, Texas. Begun in 1926, 3,500 circulation
- p. 69 ~~X~~ VISION, Spanish language newsmagazine published in New York City for export. Circulation over 100,000. Portuguese edition, VISAO, distributes half as many in Brazil.
- p. 69 ~~X~~ AMERICA CLINICA, Spanish-language monthly journal of medicine mainly for export, published in U. S. A. 1958 circulation, 76,218
- p. 69 ~~X~~ American Exporter's Automotive World, monthly Spanish bilingual published in U. S. A., mainly for export. 1958 circulation, 22,064

SPANISH PERIODICALS

- p. 69 ~~X~~EL AUTOMOVIL AMERICANO (~~X~~AMERICAN AUTO), monthly Spanish-language publication. Published in U.S.A. mainly for export. 1958 circulation, 21,599.
- p. 69 ~~X~~EL EXPORTADOR AMERICANO (~~X~~American Exporter), monthly Spanish-language publication published in U.S.A. mainly for export. 1958 circulation, 17,155.
- p. 69 ~~X~~EL FARMACEUTICO (~~X~~The Druggist), monthly Spanish-language publication, published in U.S.A. mainly for export. 1958 circulation, 13,000.
- p. 69 ~~X~~AGULA (~~X~~Guide), monthly Spanish-language publication on trade, published in U.S.A. mainly for export. 1958 circulation, 20,049.

GERMAN PERIODICALS

- p. 76 ~~X~~The Lutheran Standard, Columbus, Ohio, German-American religious weekly, published since 1943, circulation 143,000. English-language.
- p. 76 ~~X~~The Lutheran, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, German-American religious weekly magazine entirely in English, published since 1918. Circulation, 192,000.
- p. 76 ~~X~~Gospel-Herald, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, religious weekly published by Mennonites since 1908. Circulation, 18,000.
- p. 76 ~~X~~THE MENNONITE, Newton, Kansas religious weekly, circulation, 15,000.
- p. 76 ~~X~~UNITED BRETHREN, Huntington, Indiana, religious weekly published by the United Brethren in Christ, circulation, 8,500.
- p. 76 ~~X~~THE WANDERER, St. Paul, Minnesota, National Catholic weekly newspaper, formerly published in German. Circulation 10,000.
- p. 76 ~~X~~TROY FREIE PRESSE (~~X~~Troy Free Press), of Troy, N.Y., news bilingual (German) weekly newspaper. Circulation 3,000.
- p. 76 ~~X~~NEW BRAUNSFELS ZEITUNG-CHRONICLE, of New Braunsfels, South Dakota, a bilingual (German) weekly newspaper, dating back to 1952. Circulation 6,000.

- p. 76 ~~AMERIKANISCHE SCHWEIZER ZEITUNG~~ (American Swiss Gazette) of New York City, weekly Swiss American newspaper, began in 1868. Circulation 4,000. N.Y.
- p. 77 ~~SWISS JOURNAL~~ (SCHWEIZER-JOURNAL), Swiss American weekly newspaper, started 1918, 2,000 circulation. Prints occasional items in Italian. U.S.A.
- p. 77 ~~SIEBENBUERGISCH-AMERIKANISCHES VOIKSBLATT~~ (Transylvania-American People's Journal), Swiss American weekly newspaper published in Detroit, Michigan, since 1905. Circulation 4,000.
- p. 77 ~~ROCHESTER ABENDPOST~~ (Rochester Evening Post) Rochester, N. Y., German-American daily newspaper. Started in 1851. Circulation 13,678.
- p. 78 ~~ABENDPOST UND MILWAUKEE DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG~~ (Evening Post and Milwaukee German Press) and the ~~SONNTAGPOST UND MILWAUKEE DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG~~ (Sunday Post), its Sunday edition, of Chicago, both of which began in 1889, have 27,000 and 30,000 circulation respectively. German-American newspapers. And Milwaukee German Press
- p. 78 ~~DETROITER ABEND-POST~~ (Detroit Evening Post) German-American tri-weekly newspaper. 5,500 circulation. D.C.
- p. 78 ~~AMERICAN HEROLD UND LINCOLN FREIE PRESSE~~ (American-Herald and Lincoln Free Press) and its companion ~~SONNTAGSPOST~~ (Sunday Post) of Winona, Minn., are German-American newspapers going back to 1873. Circulation 10,000. U.S.A.
- p. 91 ~~AUFBAU~~ (Reconstruction), an American weekly, published by the New World Club, Inc., New York City, a German-American Newspaper, founded November 8, 1924. Dr. Manfred George, editor. Circulation: 30,000. N.Y. 71

ITALIAN

- p. 95 ~~IL PROGRESSO ITALO-AMERICANO~~ (Italian-American Progress), New York City, founded in 1880. Circulation: 70,000.
- p. 98 ~~LA NOTIZIA~~ (News), Italian-American daily newspaper, Boston, Massachusetts, founded 1916. Circulation: 37,000.

- p. 98 ~~X~~IL POPOLO ITALIANO (Italian People), Italian-American daily newspaper, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, founded 1935, circulation: 15,500 daily and Sunday.
- p. 98 ~~X~~L'ITALIA (Italy), Italian-American daily newspaper, San Francisco, California, founded 1886. Circulation: 14,500.
- p. 98 ~~X~~DIVAGANDO (Recreation), all-Italian weekly art and literature magazine, founded 1942. Circulation: 15,000. New York City. N.Y.
- p. 98 ~~X~~L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI (The Call of the "Refractaires"), all-Italian weekly newspaper, New York City. Founded 1922. Circulation: 8,000. N.Y.
- p. 98 ~~X~~L'ITALIA, all-Italian general newsweekly, Chicago, Illinois, founded 1886.
- p. 98 ~~X~~SONS OF ITALY TIMES, Italian bilingual news weekly, put out since 1936 by the Pennsylvania Grand Lodge of the Order of Sons of Italy in America. Circulation: 50,000.
- p. 98 ~~X~~LA TRIBUNA ITALIANA (Italian Tribune), Italian bilingual news weekly, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, founded 1933. Circulation: 22,000.
- p. 98 ~~X~~Italian Tribune, Newark, New Jersey, Italian bilingual news weekly, founded 1931. Circulation: 20,000.
- p. 98-99 ~~X~~L'UNIONE (Union), Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Italian bilingual news weekly, founded 1890. Circulation: 15,000.
- p. 99 ~~X~~LA VOCE DEL POPOLO (Voice of the People), Detroit, Michigan, Italian bilingual news weekly, founded 1910, circulation 14,500.
- p. 99 ~~X~~LA TRIBUNA ITALIANA D'AMERICA, Detroit, Michigan, Italian bilingual news weekly, founded 1909, circulation 14,000.
- p. 99 ~~X~~GAZZETTA DEL MASSACHUSETTS (Massachusetts Gazette), Boston, Massachusetts, Italian bilingual news weekly, founded 1896, circulation 14,000.
- p. 99 ~~X~~LA LIBERA PAROLE (Free Speech), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Italian bilingual news weekly, founded 1918, circulation 10,000.

~~ITALIAN PERIODICALS~~

- p. 99 ~~X~~ ~~SENTINEL PRESS~~, Greensburg, Pennsylvania, Italian bilingual semi-monthly newspaper, founded 1933, 8,000 circulation.
- p. 99 ~~X~~ ~~IL CORRIERE DEI POPOLI~~ (~~People's Messenger~~), San Francisco, California, Italian bilingual monthly newspaper, 8,000 circulation.
- p. 99 ~~X~~ ~~ITALIAN NEWS~~, English-language weekly newspaper for Italian Americans, Boston, Massachusetts, founded 1921, 14,000 circulation.
- p. 99 ~~X~~ ~~TEXAS TRIBUNE~~, Dallas, Texas, English-language weekly newspaper for Italian Americans, founded 1927. 3,200 circulation.
- p. 99 ~~X~~ ~~COLORADO~~, Denver, Colorado, English-language weekly newspaper for Italian Americans, founded 1905, 2,000 circulation.
- p. 99 ~~X~~ ~~ROME TRIBUNE~~, Rome, New York, English-language monthly newspaper for Italian Americans, founded 1914.

SWEDISH-NORWEGIAN PERIODICALS

- p. 100 ~~X~~ ~~BIEN (The Bee)~~, the only Swedish general news publication, a weekly of San Francisco, California. Circulation: 3,000.
- p. 100 ~~X~~ ~~POSTEN OG VED ARNEN~~ (~~Post And Fireside~~), weekly newspaper for Norwegian community, Decorah, Iowa. Circulation 18,000. Founded 1874.
- p. 100 ~~X~~ ~~NORDISK TIDENDE~~ (~~Norwegian News~~), Brooklyn, New York, Norwegian American News weekly, 9,500 circulation.
- p. 101 ~~X~~ ~~MINNESOTA POSTEN~~, Minneapolis, Minn. Norwegian American news weekly, founded 1940, 6,000 circulation.
- p. 101 ~~X~~ ~~WASHINGTON POSTEN~~, Seattle, Washington, Norwegian American news weekly, founded 1889, circulation above 4,000.
- p. 101 ~~X~~ ~~DULUTH SKANDINAV~~ (~~Duluth Scandinavian~~), Duluth, Minnesota, Norwegian American news weekly, founded 1887, 1,250 circulation.
- p. 101 ~~X~~ ~~SUPERIOR TIDENDE~~ (~~Superior Time~~), Superior, Wisconsin, Norwegian American news weekly, founded 1888, circulation 125.

- SWEDISH PERIODICALS
- p. 102 ~~X~~SVENSKA AMERIKANAREN TRIBUNEN (Swedish American Tribune), Swedish-language weekly newspaper, Chicago, Illinois. Founded in 1876. Circulation 27,100.
- p. 102 ~~X~~SVEA, Swedish-language weekly newspaper, Worcester, Massachusetts, founded 1897, circulation 31,000.
- p. 102 ~~X~~NORDSTJERNAN (Swedish North Star), Swedish-language weekly newspaper, New York City, founded 1872, circulation 8,000.
- p. 102 ~~X~~NORDEN (The North), Swedish-language weekly newspaper, Brooklyn, New York, founded 1896, circulation 2,300.
- p. 102 ~~X~~SVENSKA POSTEN (Swedish Post), Swedish-language weekly newspaper, Seattle, Washington, founded 1886, 3,300 circulation.

CZECH PERIODICALS

- p. 103 ~~X~~DENNI HLASATEL (Daily Herald), Czech bilingual daily newspaper, Chicago, Illinois, founded 1891, circulation 60,241.
- p. 103 ~~X~~HLASATEL (Herald), Czech bilingual semi-weekly newspaper, Chicago, Illinois, founded 1892, circulation 61,045.
- p. 103 ~~X~~NEW YORKSHE LISTY (New York News), Czech tri-weekly bilingual newspaper, New York City, founded 1874, circulation 12,250.
- p. 103 ~~X~~LEADER-SVOBODA-NEWS, Czech bilingual weekly newspaper of El Campo, Texas, founded 1885. Circulation 6,000.
- p. 103 ~~X~~VESTNIK (Herald), Czech bilingual weekly newspaper put out by the Slavonic Benevolent Order of Texas, West, Texas. Circulation 33,000.

GREEK PERIODICALS

- p. 103 ~~X~~ATLANTIS, Greek American daily newspaper, New York City, founded 1894. Reportedly determined supporter of the Greek monarchy and leans toward the Republican party in American politics. Circulation: 19,000.

GREEK PERIODICALS

- p. 104 ~~THE NATIONAL HERALD~~, Greek American daily newspaper, New York City. Circulation 17,000.
- p. 104 ~~KYPIAKATIKA NEA~~ (Greek Sunday News), Greek bilingual weekly newspaper, Boston, Massachusetts, founded 1950, 3,800 circulation.
- p. 104 ~~THE NEW CALIFORNIA~~, Greek bilingual weekly newspaper, San Francisco, California, founded 1907, circulation 3,200.
- p. 104 ~~ELLENIKOS-ASTER~~ (Greek Star), Greek American bilingual weekly newspaper, Chicago, Illinois, founded 1904, circulation 4,200.
- p. 104 ~~ELLENIKOS TYPOS~~ (Greek Press), Greek-language weekly newspaper, Chicago, Illinois, founded 1912, circulation 3,500.
- p. 104 ~~ATHENA~~ (Detroit Athens), Greek American bilingual weekly newspaper, Detroit, Michigan, founded 1928, circulation 5,300.
- p. 104 ~~NATIONAL GREEK TRIBUNE~~, Greek American bilingual weekly newspaper, founded 1922. U.S.A.
- p. 104 ~~HELLENIC CHRONICLE~~, English-language Greek American weekly, Boston, Massachusetts, circulation 18,500.

JEWISH PERIODICALS

- p. 105 ~~HADOAR~~ (The Post), founded in 1921 as a political weekly and bi-weekly publication, published in the Hebrew language. Circulation: 10,000. U.S.A.
- p. 107 ~~FORWERTS~~ (Jewish Daily Forward) daily Jewish American newspaper. Circulation 65,000. New York City. N.Y.
- p. 107 ~~DER TOG-MORGEN JOURNAL~~ (The Day-Jewish Journal), founded in 1914, daily Jewish American newspaper. Circulation 51,000 in New York City. Philadelphia edition, only Jewish-language daily printed outside New York City, reports 3,000 circulation.
- p. 108 ~~MORGEN FREIHEIT~~ (Morning Freedom), Jewish-language daily newspaper, New York City. Allegedly a communist organ, begun in 1922. Circulation 8,000. N.Y.

- p. 108 ~~THE DAY~~, Jewish newspaper founded in Philadelphia in 1900. Still survives in combined form. *P.A.*
- p. 109 ~~WISCONSIN JEWISH CHRONICLE~~, the only Jewish weekly newspaper, begun in 1921 in Milwaukee. *W.I.*
- p. 109 ~~FREE ARBEITER STIMME~~ (Free Voice of Labor), a biweekly Jewish American newspaper, started in 1890 as an anarchist paper to compete with a Socialist paper, Arbeiter Zeitung, founded the same year by the United Hebrew Trades. *U.S.A.*

POLISH PERIODICALS

- p. 115 ~~GWIAZDA POLARNA~~ (Polish Star), Stevens Point, Wisconsin, Polish bilingual weekly newspaper started in 1892. Circulation 17,100.
- p. 115 ~~PRZEWODNIK KATOLICKI~~ (Catholic Leader), New Britain, Connecticut, Polish American weekly newspaper, founded in 1907. Circulation 21,000.
- p. 115 ~~AMERYKA ECHO~~ (American Echo), Toledo, Ohio, Polish American weekly newspaper, founded 1886, circulation 17,000.
- p. 115 ~~SZAS~~ (Times), Brooklyn, New York, Polish American weekly newspaper, founded 1905, circulation 13,500.
- p. 115 ~~STRAZ~~ (The Guard), Scranton, Pennsylvania, Polish American weekly newspaper, founded 1897, circulation 9,500.
- p. 116 ~~SLOWO POLSKIE~~ (Polish Word), Utica, New York, Polish American weekly newspaper, founded 1909, circulation 7,300.
- p. 116 ~~GWIAZDA~~ (Polish Star), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Polish bilingual weekly newspaper, founded 1902, circulation 8,100.
- p. 116 ~~DZIENNIK ZWIAZKOWY~~ (Polish Daily Unity), of Chicago, Illinois, Polish bilingual daily newspaper, begun in 1918, circulation of 35,000 makes it the largest Polish daily, published by the Polish National Alliance.
- p. 116 ~~ZGODA~~ (Unity), bi-weekly fraternal organ of the Polish National Alliance, Chicago, Illinois. Circulation 140,000. Founded 1881, oldest Polish publication in America.

- p. 116 ~~*DZIENNIK CHICAGOSKI~~ (Polish Daily News), bilingual Polish daily newspaper, Chicago, Illinois. Founded 1890. 21,000 circulation. Published by the Resurrectionist Fathers.
- p. 117 ~~*DZIENNIK POLSKI~~ (Polish Daily News), Detroit, Michigan, founded 1904. Circulation 35,000.
- p. 117 ~~*KURIER CODZIENNY~~ (Polish Daily Courier), Polish daily newspaper, South Boston, Massachusetts, founded in 1913. Circulation 30,000.
- p. 117 ~~*WIADOMOSCI CODZIENNE~~ (Polish Daily News), Cleveland, Ohio, Polish Daily newspaper, started in 1915, 28,000 circulation.
- p. 117 ~~*KURIER POLSKI~~ (Polish Courier), of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, oldest Polish daily newspaper in America, founded in 1888, circulation 20,000.
- p. 118 ~~*GWIAZDA POLARNA~~ (Polar Star), Polish-language weekly newspaper in Wisconsin. Allegedly follows a pro-Warsaw line and was the only one of the Polish-language newspapers, except the outright communist organ, not to criticize Khrushchev during his 1959 tour of the U. S.
- p. 118-17 ~~*GLOS LUDOWY~~ (People's Voice), Detroit, Michigan, Polish bilingual weekly newspaper. Allegedly communist. 3,000 circulation, founded 1909.
- p. 118, 11 ~~*NOWY SWIAT~~ (Morning World), Polish daily newspaper in New York City, started in 1919, nearly 25,000 circulation. Owned by the Sons of Poland and the Polish Union. Ignace Morawski, editor and general manager.

RUSSIAN PERIODICALS

- p. 121 ~~*ROSSIYA~~ (Russia), daily Russian American newspaper. Circulation 2,500. Started in 1933. U, S, A,
- p. 122, 17 ~~*RUSSKY GOLOS~~, Russian American Daily newspaper, San Francisco, California, founded 1916, circulation 6,000. Allegedly a communist organ.
- p. 122 ~~*NASHE VREMYA~~ (Modern Time), Russian American weekly newspaper, founded in 1950, circulation 1,500. U, S, A,

RUSSIAN PIONEER

- p. 122 ~~*RUSSKAYA ZHIZN~~ (Russian Life), Russian American daily newspaper, San Francisco, California, founded 1925.
- p. 123 ~~*NOVAYA ZARIA~~ (New Dawn), Russian American daily newspaper, begun in 1928, San Francisco, California. "Has never recovered from a period of intimacy with the Soviet Consulate."

HUNGARIAN

PIONEER

- p. 134 ~~*SZABADSAG~~ (Liberty), Hungarian-language daily newspaper, Cleveland, Ohio, founded 1891, circulation 22,000.
- p. 134 ~~*AMERIKAI MAGYAR NEPSZAVA~~ (American-Hungarian People's Voice), Hungarian-language daily newspaper, New York City, founded in 1901, circulation 21,500. *N.Y.*
- p. 135 ~~*WISCONSIN MAGYARSAG~~ (Wisconsin Hungarians), Hungarian-language daily newspaper, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, founded in 1924.
- p. 135 ~~*AZ EMBER~~ (The Man), Hungarian-language daily newspaper, New York City, circulation 13,500. "Much of whose advertising space deals with transactions with the Soviet Bloc." *N.Y.*
- p. 135 ~~*CHICAGO ES KORNYEKE~~ (Chicago and Vicinity), Hungarian-language daily newspaper, New York City, circulation 12,500, started in 1906. *N.Y.*
- p. 135 ~~*SOUTHWEST JOURNAL~~, Detroit, Michigan, Hungarian bilingual newspaper, began in 1932, circulation 10,500.
- p. 135 ~~*SZABAD MAGYARSAG~~ (Free Hungarians), 216 W. 18th St., New York City, Hungarian bilingual newspaper, began in 1956, claiming 6,500 circulation. *N.Y.*

FINNISH

PIONEER

- p. 138 ~~*RAIVAAJA~~ (Pioneer), Fitchburg, Massachusetts, daily Finnish American newspaper began in 1905, circulation 4,200.

FINNISH PERIODICALS

- p. 139 ~~X~~ INDUSTRIALIST (Industrialist), Duluth, Minn., tri-weekly Finnish American newspaper, founded in 1917, circulation 4,100.
- p. 139 ~~X~~ TYOMIES-ETEEPAIN (Workingman-Forward), Superior, Wisconsin, tri-weekly Finnish American newspaper. Founded in 1903, circulation 3,200. Allegedly "Red-tinted."
- U.S.A. p. 139 ~~X~~ AMERIKAN SVOMETAR (American Spirit of Finland), tri-weekly Finnish American newspaper, founded 1899, 3,000 circulation.
- p. 139 ~~X~~ MINNESOTAN UUTISET (Minnesota News), New York Mills, Minn., tri-weekly Finnish American newspaper, founded 1917, circulation 7,100.
- p. 139 ~~X~~ NEW YORKIN UUTISET (Finnish New York News), Brooklyn, New York, semi-weekly Finnish American newspaper, founded 1907, 3,500 circulation.
- U.S.A. p. 139 ~~X~~ TYOVAEN OSUUSTOIMINTALEHTI (Cooperative Weekly), Finnish-language weekly, begun in 1930, 5,500 circulation.
- p. 139 ~~X~~ ATTAJA (Helper), Finnish-language weekly newspaper, Ironwood, Michigan, founded 1906, circulation 1,900.
- p. 139 ~~X~~ NAISTEN VIIRI (Women's Banner), Finnish-language weekly newspaper, Superior, Wisconsin, founded 1910, circulation 3,200.

CHINESE PERIODICALS

- p. 143 ~~X~~ CHINESE WORLD, San Francisco, California, oldest Chinese paper in the United States, founded 1891, circulation 9,000.
- p. 145 ~~X~~ CHINESE TIMES, San Francisco, California, biggest West Coast circulating newspaper. Circulation 9,500.
- p. 146 ~~X~~ CHINESE JOURNAL, New York City, newspaper, begun in 1928, circulation 17,700. N.Y.
- p. 146 ~~X~~ CHINA TRIBUNE, Chinese American daily newspaper, boasting 10,000 circulation. Y. Y. Pan, editor. U.S.A.

JAPANESE *PERIODICALS*

- p. 148 ~~X~~ PACIFIC CITIZEN, Los Angeles, California, official English-language weekly newspaper of the Japanese American Citizens' League. Circulation 6,500, begun in 1915.
- p. 149 ~~X~~ NEW JAPANESE AMERICAN NEWS, Los Angeles, Calif., bilingual daily newspaper, founded 1947, circulation 5,500.
- p. 149 ~~X~~ HOKUBEI MAINICHI, Japanese American bilingual daily newspaper of San Francisco, California. Started in 1948, circulation 6,000.
- p. 150 ~~X~~ NICHI BEI TIMES (Japanese American Times), San Francisco, Calif., newspaper, begun in 1946. 6,000 circulation. Y. B. Abiko, editor.
- p. 151 ~~X~~ RAFU SHIMO, bilingual Japanese American newspaper, Los Angeles, California, started in 1903.
- p. 151 ~~X~~ COLORADO TIMES, Japanese daily newspaper, Denver, Colorado, founded in 1914. Circulation 2,000.

OTHER

- p. 177 ~~X~~ AMERIKAI MAGYAR SZO (Hungarian-American Word), New York weekly begun in 1952, claims 3,000 circulation. Four staff officers took Fifth Amendment when asked if they were CP members by HCUA in 1957. *NY*
- p. 178, 179 ~~X~~ LAISVE (Freedom), Richmond Hill, New York, semi-weekly newspaper, started in 1911, claims 5,100 circulation. "Other Lithuanian papers have exposed its whitewashing of communist excesses." Roy Mizara, editor.
- p. 179 ~~X~~ NAUJIENOS (Lithuanian Daily News), Chicago, Illinois, daily newspaper started in 1943, circulation 43,250.
- p. 51 ~~X~~ THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY, Magazine *U.S.A.*
- p. 51 ~~X~~ SVOBODA (Liberty), daily newspaper of Jersey City, New Jersey, 20,000 circulation.

- p. 51 ~~AMERYKA~~ (America), daily newspaper of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 10,000 circulation.
- p. 52 ~~NOWY SWIAT~~ (Morning World), Polish daily newspaper of 24,000 circulation in New York City, Ignace Morawski, editor.
- p. 21 ~~NOVY MIR~~ (New World) Russian language newspaper, New York. *N.Y.*
- p. 24, ~~NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO~~ (New Russian Word), daily Russian
121, American newspaper. Mark E. Weinbaum, editor. Circulation 23,250.
124- Macy Eisenstadt, aka "Argus", feature writer. (p. 129) *U.S.A.*
130
- p. 34 ~~GAZETTE VAN DETROIT~~ (Detroit Gazette), weekly Flemish periodical
with 5,000 circulation. *Detroit, Mich.*
- p. 34 ~~Y DRYCH~~, Monthly Welsh publication, published in Utica, N. Y., with
2,750 circulation.
- p. 45 ~~EL DIARIO de NUEVA YORK~~ (New York Spanish Daily), 60,000 circulation. *N.Y., N.Y.*
- p. 48 ~~THE COPPER COUNTY NEWS~~, Anglo-Finnish weekly in English,
Calumet, Michigan, 3,000 circulation.
- p. 49 ~~AMERICAN SANOMAT~~ (Finnish American News), Finnish weekly,
Calumet, Michigan, 3,000 circulation.
- p. 49 ~~AMERIKANSKI SRBOBRAN~~ (American Srbobran), semi-weekly organ
of the Serb National Federation, with 12,000 circulation in both Serbian
and English editions. *U.S.A.*
- p. 49, ~~NEW YORKER STAATS-ZEITUNG UND HEROLD~~ (New York State Journal
71, and Herald), established December 24, 1834. German-language daily
78 in New York City. Dr. Ludwig Oberndorf, Managing editor. Circulation
21,000 daily. *N.Y.*

#997911

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Memorandum

Remains classified

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan ~~SECRET~~ DATE: August 11, 1961

FROM : Mr. R. W. Smith *RB* ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY - SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
JULY 11, 1961
EDWARD HUNTER - WITNESS

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

Memo for information only. Sets forth results of review of transcript of captioned testimony relating to what Hunter called a "Red anti-communist drive" in the United States.

b1
b3
[redacted] and since then author of anticommunist books. "In Many Voices," published 1960, warned concerning communist use of press. (118-4047)

Director is mentioned on page 64 of transcript as author of report, "Communist Target-Youth," which the Armed Forces Information and Education service was said to be using as basic material for a film being produced to illustrate tactics employed by communists seeking to manipulate youth. In contrast, the Defense Department was said to be increasingly cool toward the use of the films "Communism on the Map," and "Operation Abolition." This development, said Hunter, is "one of the early successes of the Red anti-anti-communist pressure drive."

14
FBI was mentioned on page 16 of the transcript as having the Communist Party, USA, too effectively "tapped" for the latter to be able to play any but a subordinate role in the alleged drive. Rest of testimony composed of speculation, generalities, and opinion, e.g., that elite agents of the anti-anti-communist plot occupy high places in Government and communications circles in Washington and New York.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

REC-3

AUG 23 1961

CBP:lms

(9) AUG 29 1961

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach *b7c* 1 - [redacted]
1 - Mr. Sullivan 1 - 118-4047 (Hunter)
1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo
1 - [redacted]
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Section tickler *36*

~~SECRET~~

EX-107
DECLASSIFIED BY NLS/EP-1017 (per vawh)
LIAISON
CRIME RESEARCH

JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS., CH.
STES KEFAUVER, TENN.
JLIN D. JOHNSTON, S.C.
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK.
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.
JOHN A. CARROLL, COLO.
THOMAS J. DODD, CONN.
PHILIP A. HART, MICH.
EDWARD V. LONG, MO.

ALEXANDER
EVERETT MC
ROMAN L. H
KENNETH B
NORRIS COT
HIRAM L. FON

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF
THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
UNDER S. RES. 366 (81ST CONGRESS)

SUBCO
JAMES O. EASTLAND
CHAIRMAN
THOMAS J. DODD, CONN.
VICE CHAIRMAN
OLIN D. JOHNSTON, S.C.
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK.
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.

ROMAN L. HRUSKA, NEBR.
EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, ILL.
KENNETH B. KEATING, N.Y.
NORRIS COTTON, N.H.

J. G. SOURWINE,
CHIEF COUNSEL

22 August 1961

Mr. C. D. DeLoach
Assistant Director
Dept. of Justice, FBI
Washington 25, D.C.

EDWARD HUNTER

Dear Deke:

As soon as they are off the press -- no later than Wednesday night, I hope -- we will send you a copy of executive session testimony, now being released, on "The New Drive Against the Anti-Communist Program." This is very important, and I am sending this note so you won't let it get lost among your bulk mail.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

J. G. SOURWINE, Chief Counsel
Internal Security Subcommittee

JGS:mcm

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-8-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

REC-95

118-4047-25

22 AUG 29 1961

CRIME RESEARCH

62 SEP 5 1961

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: August 23, 1961

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
"THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE
ANTICOMMUNIST PROGRAM" - 7/11/61

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Callahan ☐
 Conrad ☐
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans ☐
 Malone ☒
 Rosen ☐
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☐
 Trotter ☐
 Tele. Room ☐
 Ingram ☐
 Gandy ☐

There is attached one copy of the printed hearing dated July 11, 1961, captioned "The New Drive Against the Anticommunist Program" which was forwarded to this office by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. It should be noted this hearing is marked "Confidential."

Also attached is a letter from Mr. Jay Sourwine, Chief Counsel of the SISS stating that the above-captioned hearing was taken in executive session and is now being released. Sourwine specifically indicated that he would appreciate the testimony being reviewed with reference to possible perjury violations.

ACTION:

That this memorandum with its enclosure be forwarded to the Domestic Intelligence Division for appropriate handling.

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan (upon receipt additional copies will be furnished) 1 - enclosure
 1 - Mr. Condon " " " " " " "
 1 - " " " " " " "
 1 - " " " " " " "

CDD: ejr
 (7)

b7c

EX 101

REC-95

22 AUG 29 1961

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 2-8-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

CRIME RESEARCH

57 SEP 6

36 321

DECLASSIFIED BY ~~60267NLS/EP/BS~~
ON ~~2-8-00~~

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2-8-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE ANTI- COMMUNIST PROGRAM

HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

JULY 11, 1961

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2-2-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS



~~DECLASSIFIED BY 60267NLS/EP/BS
ON 2-2-00~~

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1961

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

JAMES O. EASTLAND, Mississippi, *Chairman*

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JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Arkansas	ROMAN L. HRUSKA, Nebraska
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JOHN A. CARROLL, Colorado	NORRIS COTTON, New Hampshire
THOMAS J. DODD, Connecticut	HIRAM L. FONG, Hawaii
PHILIP A. HART, Michigan	
EDWARD V. LONG, Missouri	

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

JAMES O. EASTLAND, Mississippi, *Chairman*

THOMAS J. DODD, Connecticut, *Vice Chairman*

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JOHN L. McCLELLAN, Arkansas	EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, Illinois
SAM J. ERVIN, Jr., North Carolina	KENNETH B. KEATING, New York
	NORRIS COTTON, New Hampshire

J. G. SORWINE, *Counsel*

BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

RESOLUTION

Resolved by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the injunction of secrecy be removed from testimony given by Edward Hunter in executive session beginning at 4 p.m. on July 11, 1961; be it further

Resolved, That said testimony be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, *Chairman.*
THOMAS J. DODD, *Vice Chairman.*
OLIN D. JOHNSTON.
JOHN L. McCLELLAN.
SAM J. ERVIN, JR.
ROMAN L. HRUSKA.
EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.
KENNETH B. KEATING.
NORRIS COTTON.

Dated August 18, 1961.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-23-2004 BY AOC 60290 BCS/cal/bsm

✓ THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE ANTI-COMMUNIST
PROGRAM

✓ TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1961

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee convened at ———, in room 2300, New Senate
Office Building, Senator Norris Cotton presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel of the subcommittee;
Benjamin Mandel, research director; Frank Schroeder, chief investi-
gator, and Ralph W. Horton, minority counsel.

Senator COTTON. Will you raise your right hand, please. Do you
solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the
truth, so help you God?

Mr. HUNTER. I do.

Senator COTTON. Give the reporter your name and address.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD HUNTER

Mr. HUNTER. I am Edward Hunter. My address is 64 Webster
Avenue, Port Washington, N.Y.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are the author of a number of books, are you
not?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, a number of books.

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote "Brainwashing in Red China"?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, and the more recent "Brainwashing: From
Pavlov to Powers."

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote "The Story of Mary Liu"?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. "The Black Book on Red China," too.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you have also written an influential contem-
porary book on Afghanistan?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. I spent a whole year in Afghanistan and wrote
a book, "The Past Present," which had the effect of emancipating
the women of Afghanistan by persuading the royal family to allow
Afghan women to appear in public with unveiled, "naked" faces.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have had a great deal of experience in psycho-
logical warfare, have you not?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, over many years.

Mr. SOURWINE. This has been one of your specialties.

Mr. HUNTER. Since I was thrown into this field as a young reporter,
40 or so years ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. In this connection, you have worked with agencies of the U.S. Government?

Mr. HUNTER. A number of different agencies.

Senator COTTON. I must answer a quorum call. We will stand in recess for a brief period.

The subcommittee resumed at 4 p.m.; in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Norris Cotton presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel of the subcommittee; Benjamin Mandel, research director, and Frank Schroeder, chief investigator, and Ralph W. Horton, minority counsel.

Senator COTTON. This hearing is being reopened as a regular executive session, to provide opportunity for Mr. Edward Hunter to elaborate on a point he touched upon only briefly during his testimony in May; namely, the new counterdrive in the United States against anti-Communist alertness and training programs.

Mr. Hunter, you have already been sworn.

Mr. SOURWINE. We are informed, and have on the record, your very extensive background in psychological warfare generally, and the war against the mind specifically. We know of the research and the books you pioneered in this field. Have you given any particular attention to the subject of this phase of our hearing, as Senator Cotton has stated it?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; indeed. I made extensive trips throughout the United States during the past couple of years, after my return from Afghanistan, for purposes of research, writing, and lecturing. This put me in close touch with the local situation in each community as regards communism. I watched an actual grassroots movement develop. With this background, I have lately been noticing a new, highly coordinated drive go into high gear to tear this anti-Communist movement up by the roots and destroy it. Whereas the grassroots movement was a spontaneous local development in most areas, there is nothing spontaneous nor local about the drive to crush it; it is an organized psychological warfare operation that had all the markings of staff planning.

Mr. SOURWINE. We hope you will go into detail on these matters. So that we may have a general idea of where these details fit in, could you begin by summarizing the present stage in this fight?

Mr. HUNTER. A quick, Red operation is being attempted, like that of a sleight-of-hand artist, to push this administration, the press, and public into a trap that would eliminate the anti-Communist program in the United States. We should know by now that this is the way Red strategy operates, as it did in the concluding period of World War II. When communism has an opponent's attention diverted, or has him confused or reeling, the Reds push forward as fast as they can in their psychological warfare, grabbing all the advantage and booty they can. They are using this time-tried method of theirs against the Kennedy administration in its first year. They have carefully analyzed its conciliatory or goodwill traits as vulnerabilities, and are exploiting them as much as they can. Those traits, as you must know, are held with contempt in Communist teachings—their dialectical materialism—regarded as sentimentalism, a crime in Communist society. Sentimentalism is considered a bourgeois contradiction to Marxist objectivism.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do they have any special plan or ruse by which they hope to achieve this purpose?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; very much so. A new "psywar" line that constitutes very clever propaganda is being pushed. The argument is simply that communism is no danger here in the United States, that it's abroad where the danger lies. They want us to stop paying attention to Communist activities here in America, to drop the alertness and training programs that would enable our public and our troops to avoid Red traps, and to recognize the face of communism, so that we won't repeat the disastrous scandals of North Korean prisoner-of-war camps, and of Captain Powers of the U-2. This isn't really a new line, any more than coexistence was when it was taken out of the Red "bag of tricks" for use again. But it's now their major line, and the major danger to us. If the Reds can put it across—and they've already achieved some great successes with it—we will have disarmed ourselves in the realm of mind warfare—the war for the mind—right here at home. Our submersion into communism would inevitably follow, unless we were able to awaken from the trance in time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where do we stand now in this fight?

Mr. HUNTER. When we look at it from the overall point of view, we see a race taking place. It is a race between those trying to give the American people the knowledge they require of the weapons and the tactics employed in the so-called cold war, and those seeking to deprive them of this vital information. This is the part of the Red disarmament drive that is being waged in the field of mind warfare, what might best be called mind attack, a military label for brainwashing. What we are discussing now falls into the scope of the softening-up process, one of the two processes in brainwashing, the other being indoctrination. Softening up is disarmament in the cold war. Exactly as the Red objective in weapons disarmament—as evidenced by their one-sided demands—is to deprive us of the hardware for defense and attack, while leaving themselves loopholes to avoid such deprivation, their objective in cold war disarmament is our moral softening up, depriving us of the means of spotting Red traps and Communist intrigue, and sapping our will to do anything about it, while leaving communism no such handicap to conspiracy and subversion.

A growing grassroots movement has developed in the United States against communism—one which constitutes a powerful anti-Communist movement. This evolved in spite of anti-anti-Communist maneuvers—against anticommunism—that have been going on for some years in our country, utilizing mainly Red fronts and hush-hush methods, as well as economic pressure against those who are frankly anti-Communist. This subtle, comparatively concealed anti-anti-communism has now been merged into what can best be called a Red anti-anti-Communist drive, that was openly initiated, under orders issued to the Communist forces of the world, especially to those in the United States, through the Red manifesto of December 5, 1960. The manifesto was made public at the conclusion of the strategy conference of 81 Communist parties of the world, including our treasonable own, that met in Moscow all last November. The race is what the Reds call "struggle," and is for keeps: "Struggle" in the

Communist lexicon can include all forms of conflict, from smiles and leaflets to hand grenades and nuclear fission, according to opportunity and need. The protagonists are the growing anti-Communist movement in the United States and the Red anti-anti-Communist drive. The Reds are seeking to put this over as a quick operation, catching us off balance, to crush the entire anti-Communist movement in our country.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by an anti-Communist movement in the United States, and by your references to a grassroots movement?

Mr. HUNTER. This can only be understood against the backdrop of the Communist position generally on matters concerning inquiry by non-Communists and anti-Communists—by anyone—into what the Reds consider their own business, their “psywar” operations to weaken, conquer, and take over other countries, especially the United States, so as to complete their conquest of the world. They have always demanded that inquiry of any kind into Red manipulation should be forbidden. They have called it undemocratic, a reactionary, or fascist activity, and illegal. All these words have their own, separate meaning in the Communist dictionary. They also insist, from the same Red point of view, that all such inquiry is “unfriendly” and “hostile,” and are using “rightist” and “extreme rightist” as smear words against anti-Communist teachings generally. The new conservative surge in the United States has been accompanied by anti-Communist efforts, mainly along educational lines, to spread information about the real nature of communism. The Reds equate this new conservatism with anticommunism, and equate this with fascism. This is lumping together opponents of every description—mild or tough—branding them with some predominantly objectionable label, is an old Red tactic. It produces some of the more obvious of the patent falsehoods that come out of Red logic, called dialectical materialism, and reaches such perversions of Socratic thinking as the teaching that war is peace, black is white, and opposition to communism is illegal, whereas pro-Communist activity is perfectly legal. The former may be as timid as you like, it is called McCarthyism by the Reds; the latter may be as unprincipled as hades, it is still regarded by them as irreproachable. Here we have the actual meaning of the term “McCarthyism” in dialectical materialism, and it has nothing whatsoever to do with the manner by which communism is opposed; it is a matter of so-called principle—Red principle.

We can understand much more about Communist procedure, which otherwise seems so incomprehensible, if we keep this difference in approach in mind, as well as the strategy that communism pursues to prevent frontal attack on specific Red tactics and evils, or their disclosure, by bunching all the opposition with whatever can be found that might be branded “off balance” and “haywire,” and calling the whole thing right extremist—meaning to us anti-Semitic, racist and Fascist, irrespective of how far fetched these accusations are to the particular cases under discussion. By insisting, as they actually did in the prisoner of war camps in North Korea, that any inquiry into communism shows “a hostile attitude” and an unconciliatory spirit, they have consistently obtained invaluable concessions without giving up anything in return, everywhere from the questioning of a prisoner to the grilling of a diplomat. We’re going through this process all over again, it seems.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do they seem to get away with it all the time?

Mr. HUNTER. By calculated, minutely planned staff work, and by the utilization in particular of the double standard.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by "the double standard"?

Mr. HUNTER. This is basic in Communist strategy. Enforcement of the double standard leaves the door open for the Communists to make headway. Otherwise, their aggressive and conspirational methods would be seen through, and once this happened they could not survive. The anti-anti-Communist drive is a vivid example of the double standard in practice. The Reds for years have had phenomenal success in suppressing criticism of communism that was in any way specific, and therefore effective. The poor Republic of China suffered tragically from this. Books extolling the Chinese Reds as agrarian reformers and Chinese "New Dealers"—not at all real Communists—were the only ones reviewed favorably in the United States, often the only ones reviewed at all, and were given best seller treatment, with a publicity buildup that ultimately made them bestsellers. The participation of writers and political analysts in pro-Red Chinese propaganda became extremely lucrative, and they were given additional easy income from fat lecture contracts. All this was laid on for those who held the line in the right direction, from the Communist standpoint that is, toward the extreme left. Anti-Communists were excluded. They just weren't given a look-in. It happened with such consistency that it cannot be considered a coincidence. We now know that this was manipulated by the Reds themselves. They benefited politically, in psychological warfare, from what constituted a monopoly, or a squeeze play. This embraced the film and drama and took over our communications channels generally. Yet all this time it was considered perfectly proper for the Communists to lambast their foes without the least consideration for truth. Any attempt to stop them was at once branded as interference with free speech and civil rights, and cynically, as a threat to the free enterprise system.

When this monopoly of theirs was finally exposed, the Reds howled suppression. The double standard to them is not a clever maneuver that they have gotten away with all this time: they consider it their right.

We must understand this if we are not to be bewildered each time we come up against it. From the other aspect, that of Communist ideology, it is something "proper" and "right" in their terminology. The double standard is part of dialectical materialism—built into it. The Reds, as a matter of ideology, do not grant their enemies the same privileges they claim for themselves. They claim the advantages of the double standard in our society, as in their own, as a right. It hasn't anything to do with what we call a liberal approach. It isn't being liberal to recognize this travesty of thought as logical, unless we are willing to go right ahead, too, and recognize that peace is war and white is black. This, incidentally, was the mental state into which our prisoners of war were edged in the Red brainwashing camps in North Korea. What is hard to realize is that this is exactly the state of mind the Reds seek to impose in close quarters in any negotiation.

Under the double standard, Communists can be anti-United States, but we are not to be allowed to be anti-Communist. Anti-anti-

communism is simply the enforcement of this piece of Red logic, that is really a piece of lack logic. But it has been perpetrated for years. The Reds at no time are willing to accept fair play, or a give-and-take situation in the press, any more than in a summit negotiation with President Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower or, now, Kennedy. It makes no difference whom. They are now insisting upon a return to what they claim as this right of theirs, the monopoly of our press and book facilities for pro-Communist arguments, and their exclusion to anti-Communists. They're making headway, too, in the same channels that lay low for a while.

The Red insistence on the double standard has reached its peak with the Communist claim to ample and complete—*de facto* exclusive—facilities with which to destroy us. They are specifically demanding complete elimination of anti-Communist programs from our schools and in the military, and from public meetings. This is the culmination of anti-anti-Communism. If we are buried in accordance with the decree of that specialist in genocide, Nikita Khrushchev, it should be memorialized on our collectivized tombstone by the words: "Here Lies a Nation—Martyr to the Double Standard; Americans Could Never Learn."

There is a semantic gimmick that usually greases the mechanism for the upside-down Red thinking that is sometimes called double-think. This is anti-Communist bias. Americans are justifiably opposed to bias. Opposition expressed to communism is labeled "anti-Communist bias" by the Reds, and at once we are supposed to avoid it. The simple objective is to eliminate free inquiry into Red machinations in our midst. But we are not supposed to refer to a pro-Communist bias, for to do so is, to them, "McCarthyism." This is the double standard. We are pressed not to engage in anticommunism, but if we don't, we leave the field open to the pro-Communists by default. That is the trap.

One of the most glaring examples of the double standard is in Red racism. The Reds use the term "racial liberation wars" in the native languages of Asia and Africa, and make no bones about it being a war against the white man, specifically the Western white man. So-called liberals who fall into the trap of equating defense of freedom with racism, following the Red line, never raise a voice against the obvious racism engaged in by Communists.

Somehow, if we're going to have a double standard, I would prefer we use it to our own advantage once in a while, and without any concealment about it, either. Is there anything wrong in favoring our own side, if we do so aboveboard, and honorably? One of the main reasons we are having setbacks around the world, losing respect, is that we have become known for not helping our friends, and for letting them down, while we help our enemies, trying to make ourselves popular with them, as if this were the way any person or nation can truly become popular.

The double standard is now in operation in many sectors of our society, if we would only look. The double standard is the main tactic in the perennial drive to put Red China into the United Nations and to give it American recognition. In our communications channels—from television to our daily papers—we constantly come across remarks favorable to the Red Chinese on this issue. This is considered being objective. However, when did you last hear anyone on tele-

vision, for instance, casually remark that it was inevitable that freedom be restored to the Chinese people? Such statements are called controversial and discouraged or even suppressed. They're only controversial, however, when they're anti-Communist. This is the double standard in operation. Mao Tse-tung was whitewashed by its use. The same tactic is now being employed on his behalf once more, and by mostly the same people. We seem to accept past errors as the best recommendation for trust in this through-the-looking-glass world. What seems unforgivable is to have been right all along about communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said something about planned staff work by the Communists, presumably in reference to their activities in our country. Will you elaborate on this, please?

Mr. HUNTER. During the war, we had a clandestine propaganda warfare section in the Office of Strategic Services. I was part of it. These were, for the most part, experimental stations, with little implementation done. Theater commanders knew nothing about this approach, and next to nothing about psychological warfare, and had no time to find out, with a war going on, and certainly no patience for it. Psychological warfare of this clandestine nature had been part and parcel of Communist attack from the start, filling a major role in their conduct of war. The British did not draw a strict line between what we called white and black—between the overt or open, and the covert or clandestine. They put it all through much the same mill. When the war ended for us, the United States disbanded this section. The war didn't end for the U.S.S.R., though. We had ample knowledge of this, but made believe it wasn't so. Only one phase of it had closed for them: that requiring new weapons to be given the main emphasis. The Soviet Union kept its psychological planning bureaus operating as always, for Moscow had an entirely different conception of war than we. The Reds simply changed targets, and began aiming their psychological warfare guns at us, now that the Nazi target had been punched full of holes. We always had been an enemy, too, in their book, to be temporarily used and then destroyed—the traditional class warfare tactic. Significantly, we now are hearing of class conflict between nations—between poor and rich countries—now that class warfare has been exposed as utterly meaningless inside any modern, free nation. Coexistence, to the Reds, is merely the shift of class warfare from the domestic to the world stage, from so-called classes of people inside a country to entire nations. Indeed, the Red manifesto of December 5, 1960, says:

The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

Throughout the manifesto, the Red hierarchy equates socialism with communism, as different phases of the same movement.

The Red hierarchy began its shift of targets even before the end of the shooting war in Europe. We replaced the old target for them to such an extent that international communism has been referring to us as Fascists and Nazis. The Reds change or retain labels irrespective of contents, wholly in accordance with the impression they seek to convey.

Unavoidably, we were pushed into seeking a defense against this psychological warfare offensive against us, that our State Department and the White House well knew about, but kept secret from the

American public which had a right to know, being the most critically concerned. Defense against intensified Red assault forced Washington to set up an operational arm in Central Intelligence Agency, which reinstated the clandestine section of OSS. Old OSS records had been cavalierly dealt with, even destroyed, especially those that could have been used as guidance, which could have helped us learn from old mistakes. CIA had to start at the beginning once more, as if we had never had this OSS experience. There was a deliberateness about this diversion and loss of documentation that goes beyond carelessness and slipshod methods.

What is relevant in this situation is that it just doesn't make sense to say that the Reds would abandon their "psywar" operations against the one country they consider their primary foe—the United States—whose free existence makes their world conquest impossible. Of course they have a psychological warfare planning section, specifically given the responsibility of operations within the United States. We are naive, to be sure, but we wouldn't be naive—we'd be criminally stupid—to insist otherwise. Yet on such life-and-death factors, we sometimes seem to be the latter.

The pattern is too plain, its details stand out too conspicuously for me not to recognize them. What is as sure as anything I have ever known in this "psywar" field is that the Moscow-Peking-through-Havana Axis maintains a clandestine warfare planning and operational section directly dealing with the United States, and has had it at work certainly since the end of World War II. The pattern is too obvious. Whether it is located on American soil, in Washington, or technically on foreign soil, in the United Nations, or in Canada, or Mexico, may be argued. I feel it utilizes the Communist Party of the United States in a subordinate position, to provide informational and implementation facilities rather than for policymaking. I doubt whether the Kremlin regards the American Communists as sufficiently "reliable"—this word has special meaning in Communist language—to be entrusted with such knowledge. The FBI presumably has it too effectively tapped. Foreign Reds on our soil, directly under Moscow's orders, do the programing. They determine tactics dealing with day-to-day tasks. The operational headquarters might even be in Cuba. Remember, the present Soviet Ambassador to Cuba was, at the time of the Gouzenko disclosures, the Red spy chief in the Soviet Embassy in Canada whose espionage ring robbed us of our atomic secrets, under the protection of a hush-hush by the American authorities on Red spy activities. This hush-hush seems one of the few points on which the U.S. Government can be said to have a policy.

Lesser loyalties—to political party, profession, or office colleagues—were allowed then to take precedence over higher loyalties and responses. This mentality was epitomized by such attitudes as "Why stick your neck out?" "What's in it for me?" and "The customer is always right." They replaced our old maxims of morality. The Australian cynicism, "I couldn't care less," became worldwide. All this fertilized our soil for subversion and treason. We have not yet rid ourselves of those noxious and poisonous weeds. Of this, I am convinced by the pattern I have seen forming.

Mr. SOURWINE. Perhaps you could go into some detail regarding this that you call a pattern.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. It will require an extended explanation, though.

One date should be kept in mind as a starting point for the new phase in "psywar," the new Red anti-anti-Communist drive, to differentiate it from the Red-manipulated, covert anti-anti-communism we had heretofore. The former is outright Red-managed, part of disclosed policy of the Communist hierarchy, and immensely more aggressive. Something new has been added to the old, and it is direct action—demonstrations and riots, unbridled smears in the traditional Red manner, and what in practice amounts to an overt manipulation of non-Communist and even anti-Communist personalities and groups, in and out of government, for a basic Red objective, the liquidation of the growing anti-Communist grassroots movement in the United States. The popular movement to which I refer is a healthy, public reaction against the character-sapping official policy of setting standards by a fluctuating popularity poll. Actually, that's a degraded form of dialectical materialism, which also rejects eternal values as principles common to human experience down the ages.

This overt operation is a reflection of Khrushchev's frequently uttered contempt for the United States. He is basing his war against us on the premise that we have been sufficiently softened-up to be unreachable by patriotism or loyalty, what I have referred to as mental survival stamina, and that we are sure to be a pushover, needing a mere concluding coup de grace perhaps, without appreciable danger of retaliation in any effective manner. This, gentlemen, is the psychological basis on which the Reds are working, and they consider themselves objective and practical.

They surely know, in Moscow, those on whom they can depend to do their dirty work here in the United States, especially in Government and communications circles in Washington and New York. Of this much we can be sure: They have a strategy for our defeat—our burial, as Khrushchev euphemistically terms it. Realization of this in Government as well as by the public could be the stimulation to awaken us from our corrupting trance. That way we could exploit Red strategy against themselves, and save ourselves.

We have made believe that this Red contempt doesn't exist by hushing up on it. I stress it here because it is one of those factors that are integral portions of psychological warfare—the cold war. The extent of truth in it, whether really false, is irrelevant. "Psywar" proceeds on what minds can be induced to accept, not on what actually exists, or on accuracy based on Judeo-Christian standards. The Communist conspirators deal primarily with influences, as levers and weapons. The best expression of his attitude was provided by Khrushchev himself in his inimitable, boorish manner, when he described Americans to satellite and other foreign correspondents in Moscow as people whom: "You spit in their face and they call it dew." Could anything be more insulting? Instead of responding, we have ignored the insult. This quotation is obtainable in the Moscow-published material which we receive as part of our cultural exchange program with the Reds, in return for the so-called objective material we send them, in which we tell them about our blemishes. Of course, cultural exchange on this basis is satisfactory to Moscow. This one-sidedness is what they insist on as a "cooperative attitude," on a take it or leave it basis. We are taking it.

The anchor point is this date of December 5, 1960, when the Red manifesto was adopted in Moscow. This set the new, expanded Red

policy. For the first time, the world Communist network, in a basic policy and operational document, specifically referred to the anti-Communist movement in the United States, recognizing that it had reached proportions large enough to constitute a main—if not the main—danger to Communist progress in our country, outlining tactics to combat it, so as to regain the virtually unobstructed field it had once occupied in its American operations.

While the anti-anti-Communists, with fake liberals as their working media in the communications field, were telling each other, and being widely quoted in the Pavlovian manner of the conditioned reflex, about the ineffectiveness and hopelessness of the anti-Communist movement in America, the Red psychological warfare staff in our land was not allowing itself to be diverted by such balderdash. It well knew who pulled the strings in this belittlement of anti-communism, and it knew who were the ventriloquists in this softening-up and defeatist propaganda. The tightly organized, keenly observant group that runs Red "psywar" in the United States was surely observing the anti-Communist movement in a professional, objective manner. This Red operational group, made up of persons with diplomatic entree in Washington and at the United Nations, with perhaps some few vassals from the Communist Party of the United States, watched the anti-Communist movement grow in grassroots manner, and fast, and saw it reach sizable proportions without benefit of publicity, in the face of discouragement from official sources in Washington and a hush-hush in the press.

The new, coordinated, aggressive Red anti-anti-Communist drive was launched by the Red manifesto. Until then, anti-anti-communism had been conducted mainly as a hush-hush operation in the manner of the "United Front," enlisting the help of any person or organization, no matter whether non-Communist or even anti-Communist, so long as he aids and abets the Communist objective of strangling anti-communism at birth, wherever it showed up.

Anti-anti-communism was interpreted to mean opposition to anti-communism, on the assumption that the latter is an obstacle to negotiations with Soviet Russia, and is contrary to "peaceful coexistence." Coexistence was suddenly taken from Red ideology and publicized as if a product of American thinking, making it less unpalatable to our people. It was a cliché in Communist language and tactics, a device for weakening and confusing, for setting up the victim—ourselves—for the kill.

Anti-Communists in political, educational, literary, clerical, and other spheres of American society were boxed in and squeezed out, quietly, one by one. This was the hush-hush strategy. However, it did not fully work, thanks to the American people themselves, and a few isolated segments in Government, who were persistently harassed and kept busy battling for their own survival. Even if they couldn't be "liquidated," their efforts could be held to a minimum.

The conference of Communist parties of the world, holding strategy meetings in Moscow over a period of 6 weeks or more last year, came forth with this manifesto that laid down the new, or rather the intensified strategy for war against the free world, principally the United States, inside the framework of what the Reds mean in Communist language by the word "struggle."

We must not let out of our minds the fact that "struggle" in dialectical materialism embraces all forms of conflict which have a

common objective, whether hot or cold, including military destruction among other means of winning, considering everything and anything as a weapon if it can help weaken a foe and bring about his surrender to the Reds. This is its rendering in a society based on Pavlovianism, which creates conditioned reflexes by signals and symbols, relegating men to the status of a dog.

The manifesto ordered a frontal attack upon the anti-Communist movement, for the first time recognized as a fundamental obstacle to Red aims. This made hash of the line taken until then, that had downgraded anticommunism as futile, not worthy of mention, which ridiculed it by such artifices as saying it really helped the Reds—the “Wasn’t McCarthy a Red agent himself?” sort of heavy joke. The manifesto made plain that anticommunism had to be combated by a major counteroffensive.

The role of anti-anticommunism in the United States, as it existed until then, was to employ diffusion, confusion, and hush-hush to leave the “psywar” field, by default, open to pro-Reds alone. Whether done knowingly, or as a Pavlovian reflex, it was all the same to the Reds.

Surely by no wise can this Red manifesto be honestly described other than as a strategy for the defeat of the United States and its absorption into the Communist empire. Yet organs of anti-anti-communism, such as the New York Times, in heavyweight, comatose gibberish, brushed it off as a moderate document, as merely a compromise between Soviet Russia and Red China, in what they had played up as a virtual split between them, hence not putting any new heat on the United States. This was a dangerous distortion of the facts, and yet our leading prestige papers retailed it, brushing off the document. This, too, is part of the pattern to which I’m referring. These things don’t just happen in a “psywar” world. They are brought about by calculation, planned this way by “leaks” and string pulling.

Such operations require a new sort of agent, on which the Kremlin places its main trust nowadays. While we continue looking exclusively for the old-style cloak-and-dagger man, who buys or steals secrets to pass along to his headquarters, Red emphasis has been put on a rationalized, new-type agent, without neglecting the old, of course. We are still focusing on the old, as we were in World War II. Then, along with the British, we were putting the low men on our totem pole, who had slight if any useful data anyway, under rigorous and penalizing security checks. Moscow simply acquired agents who mingled with the new, intellectual elite at the top on terms of equality, were sometimes members of it themselves. They infiltrated the White House and other topmost Government offices. These were gentlemen all. Gentlemen talked frankly between themselves in comradely manner. Secrets were much easier to steal this way, and immensely more reliable. We might cringe at the idea that Red agents, bought and paid for by the enemy, had entrée and became members of the White House entourage, but we can brush it out of our minds only at our own peril. As such things happened, they can happen again. Making believe they never did would make sure of it. But they would happen in the new form, while we would be looking for the old, as usual.

The new-style, pro-Red agent has his role to influence policy, stalling or frustrating it, making it fail or end up by hurting ourselves.

Need any more be done to wreak the destruction of a nation, no matter how many billions it pours out in defense and foreign aid? This is an integral portion of the pattern I'm speaking about, the heart of it, the main gears in the pattern for failure that we have now devised as a built-in mechanism in our Government, with coordinated ramifications in the prestige press, in educational circles, and in whatever other professions the enemy considers worth penetrating.

If we doubt that the Reds infiltrate these honored professions, let us think for a moment of how it has been fundamental Red technique to do so in every nation which it has already subverted, or is seeking to subvert abroad, and then let us ask ourselves if it is possible this is not being done in the one nation in the world which Moscow regards as its main target. Or course, it is being done here. Suppression of inquiry into communism is one way of lulling ourselves into thinking we've solved the problem of the Red agent. We can seem to get along better with Moscow this way. We aren't accused of being "antisocial." Where basic principles and survival are at stake, we'd better be very willing to be as "antisocial" as need be, and come to realize that this whole "antisocial" gambit of a popularity race is a part of the diffusion mechanism in the cold war.

These new elite agents need not—usually must not—give evidence of pro-Red bias. They operate best when they work as anti-Communist perfectionists, insisting that we make sure that every project devised to hurt the enemy is 100 percent certain to succeed, and that it won't be approved until it is perfect. This approach is enough to strangle most good projects at birth. If this doesn't work, and a project cannot be stopped, there can be some clause inserted which makes it operationally useless to our own side, or even helpful to the enemy. I include in this our late, ill-fated and betrayed Cuban expedition. I've already referred to such instances at a previous session.

Nothing is ever perfect, of course, and anything and everything can be interpreted to its own defeat. This is one of the most effective tactics in our pattern for failure. The problem of Red manipulation and espionage has become more complex, exactly as our precision instruments, but we must go on to solve it, with the realization uppermost in our minds that the fundamental law of the land is its survival as a free and viable nation, and that this law is higher than any other, inviolable—except at the price of a futile and unforgivable death. The kindest thing a rewritten history could do for any American who had helped bring about our defeat would be to not mention him, to make him an unperson.

This is the background against which I'm analyzing this Red manifesto. It inferentially recognizes that under the hush-hush of anti-anti-Communist pressures, a grassroots movement against communism had nonetheless developed in American society. I watched it grow. As yet, it is composed for the most part of local groups and; even neighborhood folk who come together out of a natural sense of there being something raw put over on our country on behalf of communism.

These local groups have even yet little or no contact with each other, and get little or no normal publicity. They range over the board in other respects, from left to right, from labor to management. Of course, as in any big, growing organization, some crackpots can be found.

In this atmosphere, some national organizations have formed, and various groups have been organized, that arrange seminars on communism, and give courses on communism in various cities and communities. Some collaboration was achieved for it from the official American training program that came out of our degrading experience in the prisoner-of-war camps of North Korea. After all, the American people were told, by Presidential directive, to enlist home, school, and church in a drive to help restore those submerged or displaced elements in our good character, as part of the national training program of the military, on which our survival would certainly depend. Our North Korean experiences showed our youth to have been the butt of softening-up pressures subtly incorporated into our own society, weakening and corrupting his fiber. In the past, the teaching of physical survival stamina was sufficient. The home, clergy, and schools could be depended on to provide the morality. This wasn't true any more. Mental survival stamina had now to be specifically taught. We are given no alternative except surrender.

The anti-Communist sentiment of the public, generally, was still being effectively blocked by the hush-hush imposed by the anti-anti-Communists. This gave the anti-Communists the feeling of being boxed in and isolated, being all alone. It led to frustration, creating a sense of hopelessness and bitterness. Creeping defeatism was brought into our midst during this time, and soon started changing form from an enemy tactic to a social characteristic. This is propaganda climate.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean exactly by propaganda climate?

Mr. HUNTER. Propaganda climate is one of the most effective techniques of the Red cold war, especially applicable to anticommunism. I can tell a roomful of men, for instance, to put on, or take off, their coats, and they'll laugh at me. I can go outside and quietly raise or lower the thermostat, and in a few minutes, they'll begin removing or putting on their coats without me saying a word. This, in propaganda, is what I mean by creating a climate. Once achieved, what otherwise would be recognized as treason, as the *Amerasia* case during World War II, seems otherwise to ordinary intelligent people, and they justify this by calling it sophistication, or applying some other high-sounding label that gives them special privileges as, say, intellectuals.

One of the many ramifications of anti-anti-communism is in our personnel selection and personnel screening. The squeezing out of personnel motivated in an anti-Communist direction, and the screening in of so-called anti-anti-Communists, has been one of the long-range activities of the Red mechanism through the years, at which it has had marked success. Much of this success comes from the creation of a propaganda climate favorable to this attitude.

Obviously, the more the anti-Communist issue becomes confused and smeared as controversial, and the more the impression spreads that those in positions of power, who must be depended upon for advancement, want anticommunism softpedaled, and anti-Communists boycotted, the greater will the Red success be in implementing this personnel policy, in and out of government.

Propaganda climate has had the effect of eliminating from consideration for jobs in the cold war practically all—there are a few, notable exceptions—who have records of accuracy and steadfastness

in this field. This propaganda climate more and more broadened beyond the mere word-of-mouth stage to drastic economic pressures and cruel social pressures, which lately have included even overt discussion of the sanity of persons who are anti-Communist generally, soberly referring to this as if it were something to be taken for granted in the mental health field. This has spread out, too, into fields which have anti-Communist implications, as in our national defense. Participants in organizations for a so-called sane policy allude to the insanity of their opponents.

The double standard, it is plain to see, is of great encouragement to pro-Reds and discouragement to anti-Reds. A Hiss can be sure of a good-paying job; the person branded anti-Communist is eliminated from consideration. He is treated as if there were something criminal about anticommunism, as if it were the same, only the opposite extreme, of pro-Red espionage. This upside-down situation has developed in such a one-sided, disadvantageous manner to the anti-Communist that he must be particularly strong-willed, if not bull-headed, in order to survive, unless he has an income of his own, possibly inherited—or a pension. The new Red anti-anti-Communist drive is hitting particularly at those who have a pension for their support.

The trait of inflexible will that an anti-Communist requires for economic survival then is thrown against him as fanaticism, therefore dangerous thinking, in the so-called liberal lexicon. Certain words have come to apply especially to the anti-Communist, such as "controversial." This exploits a basic vulnerability of American business, to please the customer—"the customer is always right." Extended into politics or diplomacy, this could become the means for our destruction, for in spite of the aid program, the people we deal with abroad are not "always right." They can be willing conspirators against us, if they feel it of advantage to their own country. This is a particular advantage that the Reds are exploiting in their so-called aid program, and in their propaganda about the assumed "inevitability" of their victory. The bandwagon reflex is an unconditional one, not like our popularity race, an artificiality or conditioned reflex.

This is the propaganda climate for softening us up. To be effective, it must operate in the manner called "voluntary" in Communist language, meaning induced, enforced, operating as a conditioned reflex, unthinkingly—the Pavlovian way.

We must not know about this strategy, for it to work. So the pattern for failure, at taxpayers' expense, has the concealment of brainwashing and Pavlov as one of its tactics. Just before coming here, I was given one product of this thinking, a book called "Coercive Persuasion." Here a little group of soft-minded psychiatrists and sociologists, who all along have been seeking to hush up this subject, admittedly without firsthand knowledge, admittedly basing their findings on a selected, very small segment of persons who had been put under mind attack, came forth with the predictable conclusion that brainwashing didn't exist in the POW camps in North Korea, that Pavlov had nothing to do with it, that our men who were exploited against us in a treasonable manner in those Red camps were merely presented with better arguments.

This book should be put on the same shelf as "Strategic Surrender," a U.S. Government-financed book. It was the first time in history

any nation paid to have a book written on how to surrender. The preparatory, appeasement word we hear more and more—getting us used to it nowadays on such matters as Red China—is “inevitability.” That’s the sleazy word brought forth by those who lack the courage to admit they are urging us to give in to blackmail. “Better Red than dead” is their slogan, and it emanates from closed minds in scholarly circles, such as Lord Bertrand Russell’s.

This appeasement and surrender library, financed by our own Government, directly or indirectly, and by foundations, is growing steadily and stealthily. It constitutes the reading matter for the pattern of failure. The nuclear fission field is a prime target. Each step leads to another sophisticated argument for capitulation in one way or another. First we must sit back philosophically to accept the brunt of the first blow. Then, because we will have been so disastrously shattered, so-called massive retaliation presumably can’t win for us, anyway. Retaliation—actually resistance—then would be merely a form of revenge, according to this thinking—beneath the dignity of so high-minded and socially conscious a people as the Americans. So we should forego even retaliation. These are not vaporings of my imagination; they’re to be found (in more sophisticated language, I admit) in the publications of Government-financed or foundation-supported publications and programs. They’re part of the pattern for failure. It works out as a pattern for self-destruction, or suicide.

The anti-Communist movement, pounded by all these pressures, might well have found it simply impossible to reach any meaningful proportions if it weren’t for our experience in the Korean prisoner-of-war brainwashing camps, and the resultant program instituted during President Eisenhower’s administration, with a code set up for the first time for captured Americans, and a directive for the restoration of character through concerted effort in all strata of our society.

This helped to compensate for the hush-hush in the anti-anti-Communist press, and even for the sneers accompanying it. This restored enough of the balance and gave persons of anti-Communist motivation the hope and proof that they weren’t alone, that they had friends. Members of our Reserve Forces, who certainly had every right to express themselves as civilians, became the connecting link, and often provided the know-how. They participated in seminars and discussions and went to lectures, by their mere presence constituting a great morale incentive. At times, as is customary in our democratic society, persons still in uniform were invited to come and give talks, providing further know-how for the public.

The grassroots movement spread. Old-fashioned character was its theme. Anticommunism was its immediate expression. The code for captured military personnel, the report to the Secretary of Defense by a special board set up to survey the subject generally, and President Eisenhower’s proclamation that went along with it, gave this a perfectly legal base. Why a legal base was needed for a perfectly natural and normal approach in a free society is beyond me, but apparently, under our double standard, what is excluded is only anticommunism.

The program as officially enunciated by our Commander in Chief was to train and alert our people in the tactics used by Communists. The Reds couldn’t get around this effectively, and so the grassroots movement began to flourish.

The program to train and alert our youth, hence our public, could be sabotaged, though, and so it was from the start. I told about it in a recent book, "Brainwashing: From Pavlov to Powers." This is an expanded edition of an earlier book. In a chapter that I added at the end, entitled "Now It's Our Turn," I told of the sense of great achievement that the adoption of the program for character building gave to American officers. I met one of them some time later. Here is how I describe the experience:

In contrast to his previous exuberance, he was now downcast as we walked along a Virginia street. "I can't put my fingers on it, but it was as if nothing had happened," he said. "As if it were a dream. Once the documents were signed and proclaimed, they were filed away, and that was the end of them. I never thought it possible. The program that was to restore American stamina and teach our forces to understand the wiles of communism had been sabotaged. I am terribly fearful of our future."

Education about communism was harassed until it became vague and meaningless. The withdrawal of the Air Center Training Manual early in 1960 is an instance of how this operated. The charges in the manual were undoubtedly true, it was admitted. Congressmen were told that the training "must not include the specific." We teach that generalities must not be trusted. With generalities and the specific both excluded, the only recourse was to drop the subject, leaving the field to the Communists by default.

The policy of being all things to all men and making popularity the objective of policy, took precedence over the teaching of mental stamina and character. Referring later in the book to the case of Captain Powers, captured by the Reds, I said:

He might have stepped forth from a prisoner-of-war camp in North Korea back in 1953, for all the knowledge he showed of the ways and wiles of the Communists. The intervening years had been brushed away, as if we had learned nothing from this dreary experience. Our new code and its accompanying documents had only lulled the American public's anxieties, not providing the internal reforms promised.

The reception given this book, too, was hush-hush, as if to prove its point.

What has become quite evident by now is that our people are far ahead of the Government in realization of the Red danger, and desire to do something positive about it. The people's voice, however, was muffled, misinterpreted, and lied about. So-called social engineering became the order of the day. An engineering job is now being attempted on the public mind, conditioning it to the same sophistries that had proven disastrous to our foreign policy in the years since we ended the war. Then we were more powerful than any nation in history. We were coercively persuaded to forego or betray the responsibility that went with this power.

But the seed sown by many lone workers and groups in the anti-Communist vineyard had not fallen on barren soil, as they had been told, but had grown. As the Communist network now saw, it was being harvested as our grassroots, anti-Communist movement. Hence the Red manifesto's expanded anti-anti-Communist drive.

The primary target, as it is developing, is the Pentagon, specifically the program to train and alert our troops and our people to the Red techniques, and the inherent evil in communism. The Reds have seen that this program, and the directives issued to implement it, in spite of sabotage, do make the big difference. Unless this program can be destroyed, the anti-Communist movement cannot be liquidated.

So the forces are joined between enforcement of the Red manifesto and the implementation of the training program that came out of the Korean war.

The experience of recently retired Lt. Col. Gunther Hartel, who knows Nazi and Communist tactics from rubbing up against them in Germany and Austria as an intelligence chief, and who later experienced Red cold war at its boiling point in Vietnam, alone could bear out much of these findings. He learned the hard way.

He recently retired from the military, and as a civilian, went into a New York City organization created by public-spirited men in private life, called American Strategy, Inc. Here, he felt, was an opportunity to share his knowledge of the totalitarian menace—he equates the Nazis with the Communists, as interchangeable—and help alert our public to the facts of life in cold war.

Remember, about this expression "cold war," the Reds put their emphasis on the word "war," understanding that "cold" is merely an adjective, indicating a temporary war tactic, while we put our stress on the adjective, "cold," lulling ourselves to the coexistence lullaby of the Reds.

The termites in the woodwork soon began to detect this new effort in which Colonel Hartel was a participant, and started boring away in accordance with the anti-anti-Communist pattern.

The smear began in the New York Post on May 25, in an editorial which for compactness and technique deserves whatever is the equivalent of a Pulitzer Prize for the expertly executed in propagandized misinformation. All the derogatory trigger words were brought in. Why? What possibly could be the real motive?

Colonel Hartel, nonetheless, is kept busy giving talks on Communist tactics throughout greater New York. His experience is much the same as I came upon elsewhere. Suburban newspapers, and of course the public generally, are anxious to obtain all the facts they can, and to help as much as they can. Not so in the major cities, though. In New York, there was the same anti-anti-Communist press blackout, except for smear material. "Anywhere outside the big city, we get terrific publicity," he told me. In New York City, such ventures get practically nothing, or smears. From my personal experience, I can say that public feeling is misrepresented, not mirrored, by this anti-anti-Communist maneuver.

Gradually, even in small towns, obviously prepared attacks now are beginning. They are still the exception, but nonetheless constitute an effort to duplicate, on a smaller canvas, what is the prevalent situation on the big city canvas, as I came across it in places as far apart as Atlanta and Milwaukee.

I cannot stress the importance of this Red manifesto too much in connection with these various developments, for it outlines the tactics to be used against the United States during coexistence. After referring to "concrete historical conditions"—as emphatic a label as we can find in dialectical materialism—it brings up the anti-Communist movement in the United States. This is unprecedented in a Red document. By it, Moscow recognizes the importance of this popular movement, a great tribute to those who have been working against seemingly hopeless odds. Moscow ought to know what is hurting the Communist effort.

Anticommunism is recognized in the manifesto as not confined to the rich or the privileged, which is the propaganda line the Reds take, but to be spreading through the masses. This was implied, in Red lingo, in the injunction to "wage a resolute struggle" with "greatest effort" to keep anticommunism from the "working people" and from those whom the Communists call "the masses", meaning the public in general.

The manifesto declared that anticommunism was "the principal ideological weapon" of the opponents of communism, thus recognizing it as a major peril to Red advance. Hitherto, world communism had brushed off anticommunism in the United States as a purely local phenomenon of very limited scope, not requiring any attention from the international hierarchy. The anti-anti-Communist movement in the United States was supposed to be fully able to blanket it satisfactorily.

At the time of the sensationalized McCarthy era, we had no grass-roots movement, or anything comparable. World communism leaped into the "struggle" then, revolving its propaganda assault around this one man. The present anti-Communist phenomenon is of immensely greater depth, for it is now a people's movement, that derives its direction from the public. When Senator McCarthy was active, the public was not alert to communism as any special danger to the United States. We were still in the World War II stupor into which we had been put when Nazi Germany attacked Soviet Russia, forcing Moscow onto the Allied side. This is no longer the situation, for the public now wants to do something about communism, and waits to see something positive come out of official circles.

During the years of hush-hush, our channels of communication, to all practical purposes, closed their pages to anticommunism, ignored or downgraded anti-Communist books and writings, neutralized or squeezed out anti-Communist editors, authors and speakers, and made the anti-Communist a socially undesirable person—labeled "anti-social." All the forces of propaganda were focused on his annihilation by discrediting him and his works. Nonetheless, an anti-anti-Communist movement developed.

The Red manifesto makes plain that ideological differences are not to be allowed to stand in the way of crushing this anticommunism in America. Non-Communist and even anti-Communist elements are to be employed for Red anti-Communist ends, to be exploited as far as possible under the hackneyed "unity" program, or without any overt program at all, just so long as a popular or even a desirable end can be diverted into bringing about the Communist objective, which is the liquidation of the anti-Communist movement, with the carpet to be pulled out from under the Pentagon program, to assure a Red victory in this cold war battle.

Anti-anti-communism, since the appearance of the manifesto, has come out into the open, taking the offensive, as anyone acquainted with Red tactics should have been able to predict. Open attack has begun to supplement the former hush-hush, without replacing the suppressive aspects. All the well-known tactics employed by the Reds in their pressure campaigns are more and more being brought to bear. Such Red campaigns start with smears and character assassination and go on to vicious rumor-mongering and the employment of the "big drive" technique, in which all forms of public pressures are

focused on the target, from petitions and demonstrations to blackmail and corruption.

The use of united front and youth group tactics places a special and heavy responsibility on our public-spirited people, those who genuinely seek the betterment of our society, especially our youth, imbued with an idealism which must not be lost. The Moscow directive, in an insulting aloofness, as if our best motivated citizens were just another breed of Pavlovian dog to be conditioned, has started the exploitation of our youth and civic-minded citizenry in an utterly callous, overt manner, to use them to strangle the anti-Communist grassroots movement, and to put pressure on the White House and the Pentagon to interpret the anti-Communist training program into confused inaction, while awaiting its formal cancellation.

People must not allow themselves to be used this way. As in any fight, they have to determine each step they take by the degree of aid and comfort it gives the enemy, and the dangers involved. This is no easy choice in the fluid cold war arena.

The attrition of the Pentagon training and alertness program, and its abolition in practice, whether its formal abolition can be put over or not, is by a propaganda flank attack. Communism cannot be meaningfully discussed without reference to Soviet Russia, the satellites and Red aggression, and infiltration in places such as southeast Asia and Africa. Examples must be given, taken from life. These concern international affairs, of course, and the different personalities in those lands. Those who would hamstring or abolish the program in the Pentagon can be expected, therefore, to ignore cold war factors, and "psywar" in general, and to lay all their stress on the traditional separation of politics and nonmilitary matters from military discussion. By forbidding the participation of the military in seminars or forums where politics and policy are discussed, anti-Communist preparedness can be torpedoed, and the character-building aspects of the program can be eliminated. As became evident in the Pentagon while prisoners of war were still being exchanged, it is just too late to instill convictions—mental survival stamina—into our youth when they already are of military age. It has to be done before.

This attrition process is already underway in the Pentagon. Anti-communism is being interpreted in such a manner through prompt censorship of all such material, as to take the sting out of it, and leave it a sterile, philosophical concept. The Reds don't mind this. The impression has been given that to be anti-Communist is to "stick one's neck out," and selling this impression to the public is a suppression tactic in itself. People speak vaguely of "White House" or "State Department" wishes, as if this meant President Kennedy's expressed will, or Secretary Rusk's. Even if it were so, there would be highly questionable factors in an American President or a Secretary of State "passing the word along," instead of proceeding through formal channels, on matters on which the public has been led to believe a certain policy was being implemented. Rather, I have come to believe that "the White House" and "State" have gradually come to mean any one of the hundreds of staff members who work in the executive offices, and in practice any one of the extremely contrasting characters used as advisers, or for any other purpose of background or guidance, by any one of the men formally designated as aids or advisers to the President, including his official spokesman,

and the multitude of State Department officials. Thus it has come about that an impression has become quite common that the White House (or State Department) wants the Communist issue soft-pedaled, is against anticommunism, thinks the Red menace is abroad, not at home, and that we ought to focus our attention on Communist intrigue in, say Laos, and not go hunting for Reds here in America.

The justification for this is a numbers game; proportionately there are few known actual Communists. So, it is argued, they must be ineffective. Yet one Fuchs can be all the Reds need in a situation of decisive strategic importance, and one opportunist—he doesn't even have to be a knowledgeable Red—would be sufficient to draw the sting from, say an anti-Communist training program on a military base, whose personnel has to come directly to grips with communism.

All sorts of signs, which in themselves would be without implication, do take on significance on this issue through their repetition in varied form. The cold war has reached its most intense stage, and the need for the backing and understanding of an informed public is unquestioned, or is supposed to be.

Some of the congressional publications contain material on the Red menace that is available nowhere else. Many of these are offered for sale by the Government Printing Office, which issues a biweekly list of new publications. There is a greater need than ever for such publications now. Various States, New York and Florida among them, have provided courses in the schools which explain and expose Communist tactics.

Surely it didn't just happen that the fine Champion of Liberty postage stamp series is being faded out of existence. Only the Moscow-Peking bloc could have found anything to object to in it. The proclamation of a Captive Nations Week, when such actions take place, has its impact diminished. If we think we're pleasing all sides this way, my experience of many years abroad convinces me that we only succeed in disgusting all sides by such devices. Technically, this may be a decision of the Post Office, but so far as public impression is concerned, it is supporting evidence for the rumors about "the word being passed along," a distinctly morale-breaking device, amoral in its nature. It's the old anti-anti-Communist movement in more vigorous form. The Reds again are able to demonstrate that when the talk is over, they end up by getting what they want.

Where youths abound, as on college campuses, we can witness their exploitation in accordance with the instructions in the Red Manifesto. I am always somewhat astonished, although I should be accustomed to it by now, by the frank manner in which some enemy of the United States tells exactly how he intends to attack us, and how each time he can depend on confusionists and people who refuse to believe that he really means what he says, to cover up for him. The manifesto plainly declares: "There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism," and we make believe these words mean what they do in our dictionary, instead of in the Red language, in which submission by all to communism means peace, and the regimented procedure of the Communist bloc is called democracy. In this manifesto, too, the Red tenet is repeated "that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily."

How more clearly do we expect the Peking-Moscow Axis to say that, when we're sufficiently softened up, we'll be put out of our

capitalist miseries with a collectivized space punch? They won't say so more openly until after the event.

No wonder our foreign friends grow desperate over our limitless naiveté, if it can any longer be correctly labeled by such a nonviolent term. Our naiveté certainly had violent consequences for the freedom fighters in Hungary.

Mr. SOURWINE. How would you summarize Communist strategy in the Red anti-anti-Communist drive that you are describing?

Mr. HUNTER. In a new anti-anti-Communist drive, the Reds are exerting more intensified pressure, in a more obvious manner, employing such distinctly Red techniques as followthrough and coordination.

Coordination and followthrough, used as "psywar" tactics, can make almost anything possible of achievement. Without these two supports to reinforce and broaden the front, the best-thought schemes, and those with the mightiest potential, become duds, or fade out with such small impact that the net result is frustration, with all the disastrous effects this leads to. I have watched these tactics being successfully exploited by the enemy again and again. The Communists owe much of their consistent and stupendous victories in propaganda and in psychological warfare to their use of coordination and followthrough. We have had fairly consistent results, too—only these were failures—because we lacked coordination and followthrough. Indeed, the first evidence I've seen of it on our side seems to be the strange support for the new Red anti-anti-Communist drive.

Coordination and followthrough in "psywar" apply with the force of law, the same way as natural law, to all indiscriminately, irrespective of the right and the wrong of an issue. They're tools of the trade that can be employed as weapons on any side. The present Red anti-anti-Communist drive is a glaring example of their employment in psychological warfare, and it only recently began. Its signs are still few, visible mainly to the specialist who has the time for this kind of research. But they will be many, and broadly apparent to all, within a short time.

Coordination means the enlistment of all possible—at least all needed—persons of influence and groups of various kinds in support of or against a project. In this way, attack can be launched simultaneously from all directions, the enemy position infiltrated, and hit from flank and rear. Coordination also extends the scope of an attack to other fronts as well.

Followthrough means the creation and implementation of separate supporting and expanding activities and projects, to gain every possible advantage from an initial attack, benefiting from the impetus it gives in throwing an enemy off balance, holding the initiative as long as possible. Perhaps it derives from a different outlook. We've been raised to lift a man up if he falls down. Red technique is to begin kicking when he's stumbled and is already down.

One only has to describe these tactics for them to be recognized as part of a time-tried, Red strategy. The Communists have developed a system to both coordinate and followthrough in their "psywar" offensives, such as the present anti-anti-Communist drive. They do it by using fronts, by granting a virtual semiautonomy to local groups in the fulfillment of policy and projects, although always strictly within the framework of Communist Party line.

Without those two tactics, the Communist network could not have achieved a fraction of its gains, and probably would have been eliminated long ago. Without them, we get nowhere with our propaganda and psychological warfare. Adding funds make no difference, except perhaps adding to the frustration. This makes it worse for our side. So it has been.

This may be understandable, but hardly forgivable. There is no valid excuse for our failure in this field. We have a system nowadays that in effect eliminates coordination and followthrough by making the procedure too cumbersome, and too vulnerable to negative attitudes, wittingly or unwittingly. I have watched this negative pattern in operation too long to doubt its existence. It has been too effective in the destruction of projects to escape everybody's notice. Efforts to get at it, though, are about as rewarding as an attempt to grab hold of a handful of water. One must be terribly naive to think all this just happened, that there's nothing deliberate about it. I attribute it to those I call termites in the woodwork, who make sure we do not achieve coordination and followthrough.

Our critical need for coordination has been recognized, and remedial steps even devised, but they have always been diverted or paralyzed and when no other means of prevention were of avail, flatly disallowed without explanation, or for whatever irrelevant excuse served the purpose. The same holds true for lack of followthrough. I have watched all this too long to consider it otherwise than as part of a pattern for failure.

The anti-Communist movement that has grown up in the traditional grassroots manner in our country is a heaven-sent opportunity to bring coordination and followthrough into our "psywar" strategy. The really thrilling and inspiring part of it is that this coordination and followthrough was achieved in the anti-Communist movement within the framework of our free democratic and republican society of private initiative. It's just a start, of course, but already effective.

Red strategy is essentially weak because it is artificial; their fronts are false fronts, their unity is a deceit—nothing like what we call our bipartisan policy. Except for our default, communism would have collapsed long ago. Only in a free society can there be genuine coordination between all strata and classes of society, in and out of government, united in common purposes. This is what we have begun to achieve in our anti-Communist movement, in spite of timidity and even antagonism in high places, and a hush-hush in communications channels.

This is the genuine collaboration that the Red anti-anti-Communist drive is out to destroy. Fundamentally, the whole process of anti-communism in the United States is diametrically opposed to the Red manner of operation and would be fatal to it once it could become stable, and sure of its ground. This is why the Red manifesto has summoned its followers, dupes, and opportunists to destroy it by all means, before it can attain solidity. Anti-Communists in the United States now have to fight a two-front war, against attack from their rear, as well as in front.

This is a historic crossroads in our struggle. Some day we shall have to seek unity against Communist attack, if we are to survive. The Reds have made it plain; they will accept only our surrender. If we stand by now and see this genuine, people's anti-Communist

movement, with its collaborators in all spheres of our life, certainly in the Pentagon, succumb before the Red call for its destruction, we shall have to rebuild it from the ashes of apathy and frustration. Then it would perforce get so much Government control that we may find it impossible to avoid a regimentation that would be dangerously similar to that which we are fighting. This is the destination of those elements in our society, who might be fooling themselves into thinking they're not helping the Communists, but who nonetheless want power centralized and controlled from the center alone, because they lack faith in the American people and in private initiative.

Once more we come to the double standard. An anti-Communist movement is supposed to be basically undersirable, but an anti-anti-Communist movement is not, whether overtly or covertly part of Red "psywar" planning. Here, too, if we seek out any logic in this, it is that the common denominator in this attitude is always what is helpful to the Communists. These who are ignorant of the tactics of "psywar" can guide themselves by a simple, down-to-earth principle. If a policy or project helps the enemy, it is probably against our interests and certainly should be avoided until the balance is brought over to our favor.

We should take great encouragement from the fact that the anti-Communist movement in America was a spontaneous development, in the American manner, out of needs and worries felt locally. We should keep in mind, too, that only when the anti-Communist movement began to go places, and to have success—alerting people to the evils of communism, teaching them how to spot it—did the roof fall in with this Red, anti-anti-Communist drive.

Again we see how the Communists employ coordination and follow-through, with high places involved. The Red manifesto specifically opens the door to an involvement tactic called unity. By ignoring ideological differences and excessive control factors, they give people a sense of real participation and a false sense of initiative. All that is demanded by the Red network is action in accordance with the needs of the anti-anti-Communist drive, so as to pull the carpet out from under the Pentagon, for instance, in our anti-Communist training and alertness program.

The signs show that once again the Reds are being able to exploit high places in support of a Communist objective. The tactic is gradually to surround each central figure with fait accompli and vested interests in pronouncements made without full grasp of their significance, until he is a prisoner of the anti-anti-Communist drive, irrespective of the individual's actual dislike for communism.

This isn't difficult to put across in the narrow framework of opportunistic thinking, with the restricted loyalties that gloss it over. Anything that can be considered to have political overtones or undertones—and what doesn't—becomes fair game, irrespective of the harm done our country in the process. The pro-Reds have no serious problem exploiting this. It's made to order for them—their orders. Indeed, once brought within this realm, even strategic products of our factories, which ordinarily would be recognized at once as treasonable to ship to the Communists, receive mysterious approval, and are the beneficiary of backstage pressure to get into Red hands, without the information slipping out to the American people.

Opposition to such shipments then falls into the category of "anti-communism," and receives the smear treatment, if the hush-hush isn't sufficient. Somehow, an official who blocks such shipments may confidently expect to be penalized from some direction that conceals its traces. Perhaps a columnist or a self-seeking politician will come forth with a smear against him on some extraneous matter. Soon everyone will be barking in the Pavlovian manner, chasing him down the garden pathway, off on a trail that makes no sense. The poor victim doesn't know what hit him. The grim joke about it is that few in the wolfpack know why they are barking.

Where matters end up by helping a Communist objective, such as the Red anti-anti-Communist drive, all too often of late, we can detect obvious collaboration and followthrough between some Government offices and certain sections of the press.

This is part of our now built-in system, with its concealing, committee complex. Under such circumstances, steps taken to control the diffusion of information to the public results in giving the edge, or the monopoly, to clandestine exploitation of it. The Reds have certainly shown themselves to be masters in that kind of play. They've had years of experience in perfecting it around the world. The obsession of the American reporter to get an "exclusive" makes him the world's most vulnerable for a planted news item. An "exclusive" is all too often, in this environment, a reward for closing one's eyes to the background of an item. This is a part of the pattern.

Don't confuse "exclusives" with "scoops," gentlemen. "Exclusives" have come generally to mean rewards for favors done; scoops are won by personal initiative. They're as different as "seeking" news from "gathering" news.

If you don't think there's a vast gulf of difference, read the reams of debate on the subject during discussion in the U.N. General Assembly's Social Committee over the wording of the so-called free-press provision. The Red bloc insisted on the right to "gather" news, which obviously would be handouts, or "exclusives" discreetly distributed. We wanted the right to "seek"—seek out—news. The last I heard, as was to be expected, we had compromised by accepting—certainly not vetoing—the Red bloc's version of a "free press." This is in accordance with our popularity obsession of course, as contrasted with our abandoned adherence to principles. Each time we think we've added to our popularity this way, we've only chiseled away a bit more of freedom, which then makes us even less popular than before.

It's also part of the double standard. When an item is printed that is pro-Communist in effect, it's called enterprising journalism—"being objective"—and we let go at that. When it's anti-Communist, it's "being subjective" and branded a breach of security, or at least a breach of confidence, and indignant voices are raised demanding the practice be rooted out and made impossible of recurrence.

We've been conditioned to this double standard, so that unless we stop and think about it, making a deliberate effort, we are inclined to let the most glaring examples go undetected. So-called liberals are demanding that the military drop its anti-Communist training and alertness program. Those who take this line say it's because the military should be held to strictly military matters, and should let other civilian departments deal wholly with the rest. The impres-

sion is given that this is a matter of principle, and has nothing to do with the anticommunism of it. They're such people of principle!

But aren't they the same persons who were silent when pro-Communist indoctrination courses, glossing over the most extreme Red excesses, giving the Red slant on such matters as Chinese politics, dealing frankly with the political aspects of world problems, were being given by the U.S. Army? Our wartime information and education instruction sheets were sometimes as Red as Mao Tse-tung. They were frequently slanted to the Red side. So-called liberal circles were in favor of this program. Then, too, it was called a matter of principle. Then they said that soldiers had to learn for what and whom they were fighting. When principles switch abruptly, they're not principles, they're expressions of dialectical materialism, sugar coated to American taste, sheer opportunism or plain hypocrisy.

Everyone knows about the political commissar system of the Red Army. That's been improved upon since Stalin's day—integrated, as it were. Let me quote from an article by Red Army Gen. F. Golikov, head of the Chief Political Administration—what a title—of the Soviet Army and Navy. He wrote in *Krasnaya Zvezda* of May 27, 1959, as follows (Current Digest of the Soviet Press, p. 12, vol. XI, No. 22):

For the successful accomplishment of the tasks of ideological and educational work in the armed forces we place great hopes in the rapidly growing ties of the Chief Political Administration and the lower level political agencies with the professional organizations of writers, artists, composers, journalists, and theater and motion picture workers.

The military discipline of the personnel must be further strengthened with all the means of ideological work.

The way we're heading now, with the pressure tightening on our most experienced and trustworthy Pentagon officers to restrict public statements to a constantly intensified central control, particularly as concerns communism, we're edging into a situation where we will find that, in effect, we will have adopted the method described by General Galikov. We will not have ceased indoctrination, but we will have regimented it—opposite the way we intended. If anticommunism is hushed up by default, we'll find that we'll be returning by default to the World War, pro-Red tone of our information and education program. The hush-hush really silences only one side; that is how it has consistently worked out.

In this modern world of mind warfare, that is being waged against us, it is impossible to remain static. If we're not allowed to train and alert people against communism, they will be softened up to be victims of it. The communications field is just too vast, having expanded even faster in the transportation of messages than in the transportation of people and freight. Let the Red anti-anti-Communist drive attain its immediate objective, and we will make sure its long-range objective will be attainable, too. This will be the mental and moral disarmament of our people, in and out of military service.

Suppression of the anti-Communist training and alertness program is to mind warfare what our one-sided disarmament would be in the weapons field. We would have no alternative to surrender, to the fulfillment of the creeping defeatism best characterized by the horrible slogan, "Better Red Than Dead."

Mr. SOURWINE. You say a definitive stage in this new Red program against anticommunism has now been reached?

Mr. HUNTER. The new Red, anti-anti-Communist drive has been ordered by the Soviet Communist hierarchy, speaking through and by the voice of the Communist parties of the world, gathered in a rare conclave. This becomes fundamental law and basic strategy, obligatory on all Communists. There can be no question of its implementation. The only possible question left to Communist Party people are the most effective methods, guaranteeing the maximum impact, by which these orders can be put into effect. Let me stress again that they constitute orders to combat the anti-anti-Communist movement headon in the United States, no longer through the comparative restraint of what might be called the pseudoliberal anti-anticommunism of the past.

Ideological differences are to be submerged. This means that we can expect the Red objective to be cloaked in every kind of disguise, made palatable to every important grouping in our society, the pro-Red aspect concealed where possible. We can expect, too, to find our idealistic youth, especially in our institutions of higher learning, callously employed as a front in this Red drive. This will present us with a very difficult problem, to prevent or expose such intrigue for these young people who of course lack the background themselves to distinguish between a Red maneuver and an expression of sincere opinion, uninstigated by ulterior, anti-American purposes. Even more difficult it will be to persuade them to separate this chaff from the grain, when the chaff has been so tastefully sugar coated.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say this has just started, in effect that this new anti-anti-Communist drive will intensify in the near future?

Mr. HUNTER. Although this may appear as a prediction, it isn't one at all, at least it shouldn't be to anyone who has watched and understands the ironclad pattern of Communist Party procedure, that they call discipline. Certain steps must follow, as surely as night follows day, and then night comes again. We shall witness a seemingly spontaneous outpouring of articles and persuasions of every character, that will arise all along the fringes of the communications field where the Reds have influence, and from then on, in the manner by which the "McCarthyism" drive was built up, penetrating all channels of the press and all attitude-changing segments of our society, such as schools and churches. The pro- or anti-Communist leanings of the participants will have nothing to do with the case, as seen from the surface.

The Communist Party organs will set the key. Orchestration will gradually spread from one section of the orchestra to the other, until all will be playing the same music, in a rising crescendo. This is the Red technique, to make the pressure of what will appear as public opinion so relentless and so loud that everybody will begin to dance to the same tune, and those who don't want to dance will be grabbed by their friends and neighbors and brought onto the floor, as in an American barn dance. By then, nobody will be thinking about who called the tune in the first place, and those few who do will appear as queers. This would be a hopeless situation except for one thing. If it is exposed in time, the whole Red psychological warfare gambit can be defeated with comparatively little effort.

Exactly as knowledge of brainwashing was found to be vaccination against it, knowledge of the Red intent of a propaganda drive destroys its effectiveness. We will only have to witness the orchestration, as it will begin developing very shortly now, for us to recognize this Red

anti-anti-Communist trap wherever it appears. This "psywar" booby trap will lie visible on the top of the road from then on. If we don't expose it this way, though, it will easily cripple or kill us—Khrushchev's expression for it is "burial."

Mr. SOURWINE. Could you gather this evidence—the written material that you say will appear as sure as night follows day?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, I could.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may we ask that the witness do this, and bring us the material he has gathered, with analyses, by perhaps the end of the month, to be included as appendixes to this hearing?

Senator COTTON. That will be the order. Mr. Hunter, we expect you then to provide us with material found by you, appearing in the public press this year up to the end of July 1961, directly bearing upon the implementation of what you have described as a new Red anti-anti-Communist drive, with your own notes or analyses of the various items.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you. I will do so.

(The material referred to, submitted by Mr. Hunter on August 1, appears hereafter as appendixes.)

Mr. SOURWINE. There is one thing more, perhaps, I have several papers here. I wonder if you will glance at them, tell me if you have seen them before, and in any case, give us your reaction. Here is the first one.

Mr. HUNTER. I have not seen this before. Should I read this aloud?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, please do so.

Mr. HUNTER. This is a Secretary of Defense document dated March 10, 1961, for the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force reading:

(1) There is presently being established within the Office of the Secretary of Defense centralized procedures for evaluating materials designed for indoctrination of personnel of the Defense Department in the general area of international affairs and related fields. This evaluation will apply to all materials, written, pictorial, or audio, used in training programs and troop information programs, and will be in conformance with the security and policy review regulations of the Defense Department.

(2) The film "Operation Abolition" will be retained in the film libraries on an "on call" basis for those requesting to view it, but will not be prescribed in the training of personnel. A memorandum of January 31, 1961, from the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education stated the "on call" policy for information programs and described the production of an OAFIE film covering the tactics employed by Communists seeking to manipulate youth. This film is being produced within the framework of material set forth in the House Committee on Un-American Activities print entitled "Communist Target—Youth," a report by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

(3) Another film coming within the scope of paragraph (1), which recently has been brought to our attention is entitled "Communism on the Map." Determination as to the use of this film will be deferred pending its evaluation pursuant to the procedure prescribed in paragraph (1).

This is signed by Roswell L. Gilpatric, Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your reaction?

Mr. HUNTER. Considering the date, and recalling the publicity about these films, which I have seen, it is obvious to me that, removed from the legalisms, the document can be paraphrased as saying: "Use any of these anti-Communist films at your own risk. Heaven help you if you do." I would regard this as one of the early successes of the Red anti-anti-Communist pressure drive.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is the second document on which we want your comment.

Mr. HUNTER. This, too, is new to me. This is a similar type of document, signed Carlisle P. Runge, on stationery of Assistant Secretary of Defense, dated April 21, 1961, and reading:

Subject: Narrated Filmstrip "Communism on the Map."

The commercial, narrated filmstrip, "Communism on the Map" has been determined, by official review under DOD evaluation procedures, as not required for the Armed Forces training of troop information or public information programs and that it should not be purchased by the Department or used by Department of Defense personnel.

Attention is invited to the many materials in the area of anticommunism including pamphlets and motion pictures produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, which are available for troop-information programs.

The pattern, gentlemen, is being nailed down. Hard-hitting or specific training and alertness material, if this is any indication, is on the way out. Officers know the contents of this film. They will get the anti-anti-Communist message in this order. It puts them in what, I feel, is an unfair dilemma. They can't possibly arouse fighting men to risk their lives with mamby-pamby stuff that takes the sting out of Communism. Yet if they use the hard facts, they know they're probably going to have difficulties. This is the propaganda climate being created by such memorandums in the Pentagon. It couldn't be otherwise. Incidentally, to call this a commercial film is not quite true; it was produced by a college.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here are two other documents.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you. This is dated May 16, 1961. I haven't seen this, either. [Reading:]

From: Secretary of the Navy.

To: All ships and stations.

Subject: Commercial filmstrip "Communism on the Map."

1. Purpose. To promulgate the findings of an official review of subject filmstrip.

2. Background. The commercial, narrated filmstrip "Communism on the Map" has been determined, by official review under Department of Defense, evaluation procedures, as not required for Armed Forces training, internal information, or public information programs. Attention is invited to the many officially-approved materials in the area of anticommunism, including pamphlets and motion pictures produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, which are available through Navy and Marine Corps information programs.

3. Action: The filmstrip "Communism on the Map" shall not be purchased by Navy or Marine Corps activities nor shall it be used by Department of Navy personnel.

4. Cancellation: This notice is canceled for record purposes on October 31, 1961. Its retention beyond that date for reference purposes is authorized.

This is signed Paul W. Fay, Under Secretary of the Navy.

I shall proceed at once to the reading of the second document, dated March 17, 1961. I have not seen this before, either. [Reading:]

From: Chief of Navy Personnel.

To: All ships and stations (less Marine Corps field addresses not having Navy personnel attached).

Subject: Materials for indoctrination of personnel in the general area of international affairs and related fields.

Enclosure: Secretary of Defense memo to the Secretaries of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force dated March 10, 1961.

1. Purpose: To forward enclosure (1) for information and guidance.

2. Discussion: Enclosure (1) announces the establishment of procedures for the centralized evaluation of written, pictorial, and audio materials designed to indoctrinate personnel in the general area of international affairs and related

fields. Such materials are used in the information and education program and in some parts of certain related programs.

3. Action. Pending further guidance, official material (listed in the I. & E. catalog or other Navy Department-approved catalog, curriculum, or training publication) previously issued or approved may continue to be used as required. Nonofficial material should not be used hereafter until evaluated in accordance with enclosure (1).

This is signed W. R. Smedberg III, Bureau of Navy Personnel.

The second of these documents merely makes sure that if there is any other hard-hitting material against our enemy laying about, or in the files, obtained in collaboration with the public in pursuance of the Presidential directive declaring this to be a problem of the military and the public both, it will not be used.

The other document merely backstops this new line. Frankly, I am quite concerned over what material will substitute for what has been withdrawn, in effect. If the withdrawn material is too strong, what replaces it obviously will be weaker. While Moscow is firming up its anti-American stand, we are softening ours, so far as the minds of the men who would have to do the fighting and dying are concerned. Yet Korea was supposed to have taught us that disaster lies along that road.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is still another document. Have you seen it before?

Mr. HUNTER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please read it, and let me know your reaction.

Mr. HUNTER (reading):

From: Secretary of the Navy.

To: All ships and stations.

Subject: Commercial filmstrip "Communism on the Map," May 16, 1961.

1. Purpose: To promulgate the findings of an official review of subject filmstrip.

2. Background: The commercial, narrated filmstrip "Communism on the Map" has been determined, by official review under Department of Defense evaluation procedures, as not required for Armed Forces training, internal information, or public information programs. Attention is invited to the many officially approved materials in the area of anticommunism, including pamphlets and motion pictures produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, which are available through Navy and Marine Corps information programs.

3. Action: The filmstrip "Communism on the Map" shall not be purchased by Navy or Marine Corps activities nor shall it be used by Department of the Navy personnel.

4. Cancellation: This notice is canceled for record purposes on October 31, 1961. Its retention beyond that date for reference purposes is authorized.

This is signed "Paul B. Fay, Jr., Under-Secretary of the Navy." It brings the anti-anti-Communist drive a very big step forward, if "forward" is the proper word to use. It's certainly to the Communist advantage in the war for the mind. A fundamental objective of the Red drive is to cut off Pentagon participation in the grassroots movement that is at long last awakening our people. The American people as a nation must learn these facts, as our Government had already officially recognized, if we are to attain mental survival stamina. This order goes far—it is a tremendous step—toward forbidding such participation. We disarm unilaterally to this extent in the sphere that is crucial in this war—mind warfare. It is shocking.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is one more.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you. This also is new to me. This is from Atlantic Command, Headquarters of the Commander in Chief, Norfolk 11, Va., June 14, 1961, and is signed "Horatio Rivero, Deputy Chief of Staff." I will read it:

1. Purpose: To provide policy guidance of news and classification of material within the Department of Defense.

2. Discussion: At a news conference in Washington, D.C., May 26, 1961, the Honorable Robert S. McNamara discussed the subject of dissemination of information to the public and classification of material within the Department of Defense. The following extracts from the Secretary's remarks are quoted:

"The public information policies of the Department of Defense require a deliberate accommodation of two competing values. As President Kennedy has observed, the challenge of our times imposes two requirements that seem almost contradictory in tone, but which we must reconcile and which we must fulfill. There is the need for greater public information and the need for greater official secrecy.

"In order to provide some further guidance for those of us, all of us, both military and civilian officials alike, who must deal with this problem, I suggested four principles to help the members of the Department to meet both these requirements. The application of these principles, although they might restrict the flow of properly classified information, to some extent would encourage more open, more responsible discussion of the pros and cons of the national defense policies and practices. The four principles are:

"(1) In a democratic society the public must be kept informed of the major issues in national defense policy, because the most important issues are likely to be the most difficult ones; the arguments on both sides must be made clear so that there can be a consensus of coincidence in the ultimate decision. We are under a special obligation to disclose mistakes and ineffective administrative operations.

"The public has at least as much right to bad news as to good news.

"(2) It is essential to avoid disclosures of information that can be of national assistance to our potential enemies, and therefore weaken our defense position. It is equally important to avoid overclassification; when in doubt, underclassify. In no event should overclassification be used to avoid public discussion of controversial matters.

"(3) Public statements of what appears to be Department of Defense policy must reflect that policy in effect.

"(4). In public discussion all officers of the Department should confine themselves to defense matters. Avoid discussion of foreign policy matters, a field which is reserved for the President and the Department of State. This long-established principle recognizes the danger that when Defense officials express opinions as to foreign policy, their words may be taken as the policy of the Government.

3. Action: Information contained in paragraph 2 above is forwarded for information and guidance.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you say to this?

Mr. HUNTER. If the fourth point were obeyed, in the kind of conflict in which we are engaged, we would return to the condition of mind disarmament we were in when the Reds struck in Korea. It cannot be obeyed without disobeying the directives that were supposed to enforce the code for our men who may be captured by Communists, and it cannot be obeyed without making believe there is no such thing as brainwashing, that what took place in the prisoner of war camps was a bad dream, a hallucination perhaps that never happened. We are rewriting history, in effect. We are also betraying ourselves. In the arena of the cold war, the Red anti-anti-Communist drive, as ordered by the Red manifesto of December 5, 1960, won a stunning victory for itself on—let me see, what is the date of the document I just read—May 16, 1961. Why do we do these things? Oh well—

Mr. SOURWINE. This completes my questioning.

Senator CORTON. We will be waiting to receive your compilation of press material. Thank you, Mr. Hunter. The hearing is adjourned.

APPENDIXES

These appendixes and the accompanying prefatory notes were provided by the witness, Edward Hunter, who had been instructed to supply such written material from the press generally, to the end of July 1961, as had a direct bearing upon what he described in his testimony as the new, Red anti-anti-Communist drive, with whatever brief analysis might be required. Mr. Hunter has pointed out these are examples, with the merely cumulative omitted, and are not intended as an indictment of any individual or publication.

APPENDIX 1

The following are relevant excerpts from the "Statement of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties" as officially translated by Moscow and published in the Red theoretical organ in the United States, Political Affairs, in its January 1961 issue. (The full text as well as the complete Tass translation as printed in the New York Times on December 7 can be found in the appendix to the testimony before this Committee of Jay Lovestone last January 26 and February 2.)

The Red Manifesto is a basic strategy paper to outline Communist Party operations and, as such, makes extensive use of the Communist language of dialectical materialism, always giving this slant to its statements. In understanding Communist intent, these words and paragraphs must be translated into ordinary language, often producing the opposite words in non-Communist dictionaries.

When read this way, as the indoctrinated Communist does, Red documentation is extremely revealing of purposes and tactics otherwise successfully concealed.

For instance, a simple sentence from the Manifesto, such as "As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression," actually means, in Red language: "As long as dynamic non-Communist countries exist they may take the opportunity to resist Communist world expansion." In their writings, when Communists attack, it is "liberation" and not "aggression." The dialectical materialist dictionary is composed of the fundamental writings of Red leaders and theoreticians.

Here are the excerpts from the Manifesto:

... U.S. imperialism ... has become an enemy of the whole world. ...
In blazing a trail of communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. ...
... As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression. ...

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass efforts for peace, and promote coopera-

tion with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war. The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists. . . .

No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. . . .

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. . . .

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. . . .

The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. . . .

The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting. . . .

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the women, in sports organizations, and the unorganized sections of the population. . . .

The Communist Parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. . . .

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of nonpeaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. . . .

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witchhunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organizations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. . . .

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights. . . .

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement. . . .

APPENDIX 2

In a massive draft program announced at Moscow by the Soviet Communist Party on July 29, the red hierarchy recognized for the second time the importance of the anti-Communist movement in the United States. The first time was in the Red Manifesto of December 5, 1960.

The new document reiterates tactics to be employed against the United States in the Red "struggle" to conquer the world, with the United States as the primary target.

Moscow's reiterated propaganda theme is that this can be achieved "peacefully", presumably by bringing about American surrender through psychological warfare strategy, thereby preserving the Soviet Union against destruction. Hence, the coexistence line serves a dual purpose: (1) lulling the Soviet population, which actually wants peace, certainly abhors the thought of a repetition of World War II horrors, and (2) stirring creeping defeatism in the West.

Meanwhile, of course, new and continued sacrifices are evidently to be required of the Communist-dominated peoples, already suffering from shortages of food and other necessities. The document seeks to take the attention of its enslaved people from such deficiencies, and to prepare them for even more acute stringencies to follow, by making a host of pie-in-the-sky promises of a paradise of plenty in the future.

Here is an excerpt from the text as sent abroad by Tass, the official Soviet Russian news agency, dealing with anti-communism in our land:

The chief ideological and political weapon of imperialism is anti-communism. Rallied to this black banner today are all the enemies of social progress. Anti-communism is a reflection of the extreme decadence of bourgeois ideology.

Monopoly capital engenders fascist ideology, the ideology of extreme chauvinism and racism. Anti-communism is becoming the main instrument of reaction in its struggle against the democratic forces of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The right wing of social-democracy has completely broken with Marxism and has put forward so-called democratic socialism against scientific socialism.

Historical experience has shown the bankruptcy of both the ideology and the policy of social-democracy.

Anti-communism has brought social reformism to an ideological and political impasse. This is one of the main reasons for the crisis of social-democracy.

APPENDIX 3

Cabell Phillips has been the New York Times axe man in the anti-anti-Communist movement, once it became too widespread and effective to be any longer kept under wraps. Overnight, the activities of the anti-Communist groups became the subject of long articles, which made quite a point of how extensive the campaign to alert Americans on communism had become.

Significantly, nary a whisper of this campaign had hitherto got into the New York Times, or any of the other anti-anti-Communist, prestige newspapers. Anti-communism only became news when the pillorying of the Birch Society gave them the opportunity to refer to all anti-communism as work of "the Birchites," and to smear it all indiscriminately as "right extremist." Without exception, each of the articles purporting to summarize the anti-Communist movement followed this propaganda line.

Each time, too, with a similarity that is unmistakable, and certainly enlightening on the source of these purported news articles, there is a backhanded effort to brand the whole thing as Nazi. For instance, this nearly four-column article, of May 21, ends with an anonymous refugee from Germany quoted as saying:

"Have you ever thought of the parallel between John Birch and Horst Wessel? I have, and it frightens me when I see this anti-Communist feeling getting out of hand."

If this reportage is to be believed, the "right-extremist" type is the only kind of anti-communism there is.

The article follows:

ANTI-RED DISPUTE GRIPS ILLINOISANS—INTENSIVE RIGHT-WING EFFORTS AROUSE CONTROVERSY

(By Cabell Phillips)

[Special to The New York Times]

EVANSTON, Ill., May 5.—A grass-roots campaign to inculcate an aggressive form of anti-Communist "Americanism" in all walks of life is spreading through the North Shore suburbs of Chicago.

Its intensity is disturbing the social, political and religious equanimity of many persons in this heavily populated area.

On one side are a number of conservative activists allied, in fact or in spirit, with the John Birch Society.

They contend that Communist subversion in the schools, churches and many areas of public life is endangering "fundamental Americanism," and, indeed, the very existence of the Republic. They are pursuing an active campaign of "education" and various forms of persuasion to alert their fellow citizens to the danger.

LIBERALS ON DEFENSIVE

On the other side is a loose coalition of liberals and moderates who argue that the Communist danger is being distorted and exaggerated for political ends by "Right-wingers and bigots." Placed on the defensive in this conflict, they have confined their strategy largely to protests at public meetings and letters to newspapers and public officials.

Mutual antagonisms are apparent in most of these well-to-do suburban communities from Evanston north to Waukegan. But they run more deeply in some than in others.

In Glenview, for example, "Americanism" became a dominant but whispered issue in a recent village election contest. A Roman Catholic priest and a Methodist minister in the same community have taken to sniping at each other in public over the merits of the anti-Communist crusade.

In Evanston, a man who ran for the House of Representatives last fall contends that he was victimized by a "sincere campaign" that associated him with Communist movements. This episode will soon reach its climax in a Federal court.

"LEFT WING" ASSAILED

The motivation behind the Americanism drive was summed up the other day by a resident of Evanston who is generally sympathetic to its objectives but not a direct participant.

"I don't believe the North Shore has a great many more actual Communists than any other similar area," he said. "But we do have a great many Left-wing thinkers dug in around the colleges and universities who seem to do the Communists' work for them. They have a lot of influence."

"But even more importantly, we have a lot of apathy and downright ignorance by the majority of the well-to-do people here. They've got good jobs, good incomes and they live in a dream world. They don't know what's going on in the world outside, or even right under their noses."

"I don't think there's anything more important than to educate them to the fact that that dream world is about to be snatched out from under them—and all the rest of us, too."

ECHOED IN MANY AREAS

Similar views have been found among conservative groups in many parts of the country. They often gain their most effective expression in an aggressive anti-communism.

The common denominator in the thinking of these groups, as observed in several weeks of travel, is that "the American way of life" is being attacked by-

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fifth columnists frequently operating under such "socialistic" guises as "liberalism," "the welfare state" and "one-worldism."

These ideological convictions are often accompanied by an opposition to existing tax, foreign aid and civil rights policies of the Federal Government, and by a belief that the religious and moral fiber of the nation is deteriorating because of Communist machinations.

Two organizations that have been most active in fostering this drive at the community level are the John Birch Society, headed by Robert H. W. Welch, Jr. of Belmont, Mass., and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, of which Dr. Fred C. Schwarz of Long Beach, Calif., is president.

Their tactics differ somewhat, but their aims are almost identical. The Birch Society advocates not only "education," but also the adoption, on occasion, of Communist methods to combat Communist subversion. Its belligerency goes so far, for example, as to demand the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren for furthering Communist aims.

SCHWARZ DOCTRINE

The Schwarz doctrine advocates much the same sort of "education" about the Communist menace but stops short of urging particular acts of reprisal.

Both groups have been active in the Chicago area for many years. Stillwell J. Connor, a Chicago industrialist, was quoted recently as having said that he had inducted more than 400 members into the Birch Society, mostly in the northern suburbs, since 1959. Another Birch member estimated the total membership in the Chicago area at 1,000.

Dr. Schwarz has appeared on local lecture platforms frequently, but he did not turn on the full power of his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade until late last summer. The current controversy along the North Shore dates from that time.

On Aug. 29, 1960, Dr. Schwarz opened a five-day school on anti-communism at the Glenview Naval Air Station. Sessions were held three times a day in an auditorium on the base, with an attendance of several hundred at each session. The audiences consisted of base personnel, Naval reservists and civilians from surrounding communities.

PHILBRICK ON FACULTY

The faculty included several Navy officers, Dr. Schwarz and such professionals in the field of anti-communism as Herbert Philbrick, a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Dr. E. Merrill Root, author of "Brainwashing in the High Schools"; Richard Arens, then staff director for the House Un-American Activities Committee; Prof. Anthony Bouscaren of LeMoyne College, Syracuse, N.Y., and others.

Dr. Schwarz' program at Glenview was similar to others he has conducted in many parts of the country, one recently in St. Louis.

It is built around a series of lectures supplemented by films, tape recordings and the sale of books and pamphlets, many written by Dr. Schwarz.

Two films are among those shown most often. One is "Operation Abolition," which depicts as Communist-managed the student riots in San Francisco last year that grew out of a session there of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The other is "Communism on the Map," which pictures the United States as falling victim to Communist encirclement and subversion.

The course purports to give a scholarly résumé and analysis of world communism, with particular emphasis on its impact on the United States since World War II.

The principal theme is that the American way of life is being subtly but systematically undermined by Communist fifth columnists and their "stooges," who often operate under the guise of socialism.

Evidence of their influence, the course points out, is found chiefly on the campuses of American colleges, among the Protestant clergy and in the policy-making levels of the Federal Government.

SCHOOL HAILED

The Glenview school was adjudged a great success by its sponsors and participants, and also, apparently, by many residents of this area who had no part in it.

Jack Mabley, who at the time was a columnist for the Chicago Daily News and president of the Glenview Village Board, wrote approvingly of the venture in his column. He also sponsored a resolution of commendation by the village board that passed with only one negative vote.

But there were a number of dissenting views. These were based chiefly on the grounds that the school fostered an atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance toward persons of moderate and liberal political convictions, and that it held up to ridicule and criticism certain established foreign policy positions of the Federal Government that the Navy was required to support.

One of the dissenters was Mrs. Norma Morrison, a housewife who serves on the Glenview Village Board. Mrs. Morrison refused to vote in favor of the commendatory resolution.

"I received a number of rather nasty telephone calls about it," she said recently, "most of them anonymous and at night. They accused me of being a 'Red' or 'pink' or 'anti-Catholic'—which, of course, I am not."

"And the next meeting of the board," she declared, "a resolution was prepared demanding my resignation, but Jack Mabley ruled it out of order and refused to let it come up."

PROFESSOR'S TELEGRAM

Another dissenter was Dr. Tyler Thompson, a professor of religion at Northwestern University and a Democratic candidate for the House last fall. While the school was in progress last September, he sent this telegram to William B. Franke, then Secretary of the Navy:

"I wish to protest the apparent official link of the Navy to the political propaganda being disseminated at the Education for American Security [as the Schwarz school was called] at Glenview Naval Air Station. Official program and early publicity clearly indicate Naval sponsorship. Please investigate."

The result was an official denial of direct Navy sponsorship of the school.

In the following weeks, there turned up on drug store counters and in the mail boxes of various North Shore homes and offices a four-page document purporting to link Dr. Thompson with Communist and Communist-front organizations. It bore no name or return address.

The pamphlet noted Dr. Thompson's membership in or cooperation with such organizations as the Methodist Federation for Social Action, Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran [Immigration] Act. Each of these groups, it said, had been cited for its Communist affiliation or sympathies either by the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

CITES THE WORKER

It also carried the following entry:

"The Worker" (midwest edition), official publication of the Communist Party, USA, published an article on June 5, 1960, in which it indicated that Tyler Thompson is 'receiving wide and significant support in his campaign' . . . and is generally favorable in tone.

"It should be noted that it is not the practice of 'The Worker' to give favorable publicity to candidates for political office unless that paper has a particular interest in their candidacy."

The leaflet was turned over to the F.B.I. for investigation as a possible violation of the Corrupt Practices Act. As a result, Miles M. Vondra, Jr., a Glenview insurance man who claims active membership in one of the many Birch Society units in the neighborhood, was indicted last January. He is scheduled to go on trial in Federal District Court on May 22.

Dr. Thompson was soundly beaten in the election. But he attributes his defeat as much to the "overwhelming Republicanism" of this district as to the leaflet.

LETTER TO THE NAVY

Long after the anti-communism school was concluded, an office for the Education for American Security program was maintained at the naval station. A few months ago, thirty citizens of the area signed another letter of protest to the Secretary of the Navy. Mrs. Morrison was among them. The letter became public.

In April, Mrs. Morrison was a candidate for re-election to the Glenview Village Board. She was supported by the Caucus party, in which several of the letter's signers were also active. She said recently that she and several other Caucus candidates had been targets of a "whispering campaign" in which the letter to the Secretary was cited as evidence that their "Americanism" was questionable.

"We won the election," she said, "but there has been a great deal of bitterness left over from it. Our town is divided in a way I've never seen it before."

This division has also flared among church groups:

THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PROGRAM 37

One of the most articulate partisans of the anti-Communist program is the Rev. John J. Dussman, pastor of the Roman Catholic church of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Glenview.

Nearly every issue of his weekly parish paper, The Clarion, contains an endorsement of the Birch Society or another of the more active "Americanist" groups. Parishioners are frequently urged to join "one of our anti-Red cells."

REBUKES PROTESTANTS

In an issue a few weeks ago, Father Dussman criticized a local "Protestant church gathering" for having distributed copies of The Christian Century that contained an article critical of the movie "Operation Abolition." The Christian Century is a nondenominational publication that generally reflects the liberal Protestant viewpoint.

This brought a sharp rebuke a week later from the Rev. Calvin W. Robinson, pastor of a large neighboring Methodist congregation. Mr. Robinson said in the course of his sermon:

"I am disturbed over the activities of American pharisees today—close-minded, selfrighteous conservatives who also (as did the Biblical pharisees) resent having their truths challenged. The John Birch Society is just such a group. It does not have the answers to our problems in international relations, and it only leads us backward into old ways that have betrayed mankind again and again."

A possible explanation for the intensity of the controversy here lies in the missionary zeal that both the Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade impart to their "converts."

Dozens of them in this area, individually and in teams, fan out nightly and over week-ends, equipped with tape recordings, motion-picture projectors and suitcases of books and pamphlets to carry on their mission.

Their audiences may be a dozen or more neighbors in a living room, a Rotary Club or American Legion meeting, a school assembly or many hundreds gathered in a public hall.

A fairly typical meeting was held on a Sunday afternoon late in April at the lake-front estate of Mr. and Mrs. Jay Sheesley, in Glencoe.

For four hours 300 specially invited guests heard lectures and watched a showing of "Operation Abolition." The program was presented by three young enlisted men from the Great Lakes Naval Training Center.

The three-man Navy team is a product of Dr. Schwarz's school last summer at the Glenview Naval Air Station. Its members are Milton J. Fick, Francis R. Mills and Robert Cooke. In the last six months, on their own time and without fee, they have conducted scores of such meetings, in points as far distant as Iowa and Wisconsin.

"Please make it clear," Mr. Fick said during a recent interview, "that we do this independently of the Navy, and that we never appear in uniform."

A similar sense of dedication is displayed by Capt. Isaiah Hampton, commanding officer of the Glenview Naval Air Station. A tall, taciturn, career officer of fifty, he described himself in an interview the other day as "a Texas conservative."

"Lenin put in on the line forty years ago," he said, leaning intently across his desk—"American will fall into our hands like over-ripe fruit." He meant it, and it's happening. I think it's important that every American citizen is made aware of it."

There is another side to this coin of fear that has become so much a part of the currency on the North Shore. It was noted by a woman school teacher in Winnetka the other day. Some of her family had lived in Nazi Germany. Asking that she not be quoted by name, she said:

"Have you ever thought of the parallel between John Birch and Horst Wessel? I have, and it frightens me when I see this anti-Communist feeling getting out of hand."

APPENDIX 4

This editorial, one of the keynote attacks marking the start of the Red anti-anti-Communist drive in the press could be used as a textbook example of what has the general title of the "poison pen tactic" in propaganda warfare.

In the style of Red "psywar", the New York Post editorial of May 25 subtly links smear symbols to the new target group, which hitherto

CIRCA
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Dussman
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had been given the hush-hush treatment, and against which there had been no breath of criticism. The tone of the editorial is gentle satire, along the patronizing, supercilious line that is the hallmark of certain fake sophisticated circles that have appropriated the fine, old word liberal as a cloak for what is utterly illiberal and the New York State Division of Military and Naval Affairs is "hardly burdened with problems of grand strategy" and so "has discovered a popular new battle terrain," which is support of meetings "ostensibly dealing with the danger of communism." The word "ostensibly" indicates that this is not its real purpose, but some other, concealed, aim. Further on, by linking it to the Birch Society through a "spiritual connection"—whatever this means—the impression is conveyed, although not said, that this is a Fascist (Nazi) plot. Even a racist slur is gratuitously brought in by a reference to "know-nothingism." Incidentally, this is the line the Red Manifesto has ordered implemented in its fight to crush the anti-Communist alertness and training program in the United States, especially in such powerful centers as the Pentagon. The editorial makes its point unmistakably with the sentence: "Needless to say, the enterprise bears no serious relation to the Communist problem." The phrase, "needless to say," disarms those who would ask what basis there is for this tissue of pro-Red lies that constitutes the New York Post editorial. They are apparently low-brows if they do happen to question the pro-Red point of view.

No textbook on clandestine tactics in psychological warfare, particularly its propaganda side, would be complete without this New York Post editorial of May 25, 1961:

LOCAL WAR GAMES

New York's State Division of Military and Naval Affairs, hardly overburdened with problems of grand strategy involving the deployment of armies and warships, has discovered a popular new battle terrain on which to exercise its surplus functions. It plans to play war games in the ideological arena by supporting a series of seminars ostensibly dealing with the danger of communism. Its first campaign will be an engagement in Albany designed to get funds for the charade.

The field of anti-communism has become a game in which any number can play, regardless of their political literacy. Thus, the Militia Assn. of New York, a private organization of military officers, is sponsoring an "educational" program under the auspices of a dubious outfit known as American Strategy, Inc. Financial support now comes from private sources, but the State Division of M. & N. Affairs would remedy this logistics problem by tapping the public treasury as an official body and emerging openly as the command post.

Any connection between AS, Inc. and the Birch Society is not being advertised. But clearly the spiritual connection is unmistakable. Needless to say, the enterprise bears no serious relation to the Communist problem. But that doesn't seem to bother the players.

We trust that when the Division of M. & N. Affairs invites the Legislature to subsidize the game, the answer will be loud, clear and negative. New York needs no new adventure in know-nothingism.

* * * * *

Of significance, too, was the first article on the subject published May 21 by the New York Times, a half-column-long dispatch, dated Albany. Crisply, the article led off with a proposed request for funds, not possible until next January, instead of relating what actually was the news, the start of this effort to acquaint the New York public with the truth about communism.

The article was written in a manner to provide basic material for attack, rather than to relate information even objectively. There isn't a hint that there is any valid reason for the seminars planned.

The article follows:

STATE'S MILITARY ALERTING ON REDS—DIVISION WEIGHS REQUESTING LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Special to the New York Times

ALBANY, May 20—The Legislature may be asked to appropriate funds for a series of seminars designed to alert New Yorkers to the danger of communism.

The State Division of Military and Naval Affairs said today it was considering a request to the Legislature to support a program now being sponsored by the Militia Association of New York.

The association is a private organization of about 3,500 officers of the New York Army National Guard, Air National Guard and Naval Militia. It is headed by Maj. Gen. Collin P. Williams of Syracuse, commanding general of the Army National Guard's Twenty-seventh Armored Division.

The Legislature does not convene for a regular session until next January. In the meantime, the militia association's anti-Communist efforts will be bolstered by a privately endowed organization known as American Strategy, Inc., with headquarters at 95 Broad Street, New York.

PROGRAM IS OUTLINED

At the request of Maj. Gen. Aimerin C. O'Hara, Chief of Staff to Governor Rockefeller, a representative of American Strategy addressed a briefing session conducted by the Military and Naval Affairs Division here. The speaker was Lt. Col. Gunther E. Hartel, a retired Army officer who was formerly on the staff of G-2 (Intelligence) of the First Army.

"It is proposed that the effort of American Strategy, Inc., be coordinated with the Militia Association to provide a statewide program of public education on the threat of communism," Colonel Hartel said.

American Strategy will assist the Militia Association by providing lecturers and material about the nature of communism. The first seminar is scheduled for the week-end of June 24 in Syracuse.

A generally cooperative, indeed enthusiastic reception meets efforts to counter Red subversive warfare, with only isolated exceptions, once one leaves certain metropolitan areas, as New York City, where anti-anti-communism has made deep penetration in the communications field. Part of the reason may be that these interior regions are usually still beyond the effective reach of the pressure groups identified with the appeasement and "better Red than dead" mentalities.

An example is the following editorial, referring to retired Lt. Col. Gunther Hartel of American Strategy, Inc., and was printed in the Syracuse Post-Standard of September 2, 1960, shortly before he left the service:

BATTLE FOR MINDS

As the American Bar Association declines to urge high school courses on international communism, an Army psychological warfare expert warns Watertown Kiwanians "we are losing the battle for men's minds while preparing for a hot war."

Lt. Col. Gunther Hartel, Camp Drum intelligence officer, has considerable knowledge of communist methods. He was a psychological warfare adviser in Southeast Asia.

He says, "The communists are agitating strife to annihilate our Nation from within. This is being promoted through apathy, racial propaganda and encouragement to 'defiant ones.'" By defiant he means those who rebel against the principles of educational freedom and individual equality on which the country was founded.

Alert Americans can sense this menace. Can high school pupils be made aware of it without courses on communism to show them just what they are up against? The American Bar Association apparently believes so.

But if adult Americans are naive enough to be sucked in by Red propaganda, as Col. Hartel insists, youngsters certainly need a thorough grounding in the

psychological methods being used. If not in high school, where and when can the communist system be explained?

The greatest danger, it seems to us, is apathy. The ABA could do much to help in dispelling that state by coming out flatfooted for some method of offsetting the subtle "conditioning" of young American minds by those by whom Col. Hartel terms "masters of deceit."

It is well to view with alarm now and then. We become too complacent and miss the significance of events going on around us. And if we are indeed losing the battle for men's minds, it is time to find out what is wrong with the "default ones" and see what can be done about them.

APPENDIX 5

The assault on the Pentagon in the stepped-up anti-anti-Communist drive began on Sunday, June 18. The previous coverage by the New York Times apparently had been preparatory skirmishes. The big guns were now wheeled into place, and began firing.

On that day, an article began on the first page, entitled "Right-Wing Officers Worrying Pentagon," and continued three more columns long on page 56, spreading across the entire top of the page. It was signed again by Cabell Phillips, who apparently was now the New York Times anti-Communist movement exposé man.

The target was now shifted from secondary positions, along the periphery, to the heart of the anti-Communist campaign. Anti-Communist activities by military officers were equated with "radically right-wing political philosophies," a more genteel way of saying pro-Fascist or pro-Nazi. This set the campaign plan, heaping together in one propaganda grab bag all who showed energy or enterprise in exposing Communist tactics and explaining the evils of communism. The article was written in unmistakable exposé style, to give the impression there was something highly suspect and dangerous that should be uprooted and done away with, in disclosure of the devious ways by which the Reds are plotting our destruction.

It referred to "the so-called 'cold war policy' evolved by the National Security Council in the summer of 1958," thus setting up this training and alertness program as a primary target of the new anti-anti-Communist campaign.

The article began: "The Pentagon is having its troubles with right-wingers in uniform." Just who in particular was meant by "the Pentagon" was significantly not disclosed. But the article went into extensive detail on "the 'cold-war' activities" of commanding officers in implementing the directive. This has "caused alarm among the new civilian team in the Pentagon," the article declared, making it apparent that "the Pentagon" referred to was not the fighting force.

The article follows:

RIGHT-WING OFFICERS WORRYING PENTAGON

(By Cabell Phillips)

[Special to The New York Times]

WASHINGTON, June 17.—The Pentagon is having its troubles with right-wingers in uniform. A number of officers of high and middle rank are indoctrinating their commands and the civilian population near their bases with political theories resembling those of the John Birch Society. They are also holding up to criticism and ridicule some official policies of the United States Government. The

most conspicuous example of some of these officers was Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, who was officially "admonished" for his activities by the Secretary of the Army earlier this week.

General Walker's offense was in saying that a number of prominent Americans, as well as elements of the newspaper and television industries, were tainted with Communist ideology.

He did this in the course of a continuing effort that the general said was "designed to develop an understanding of the American military and civil heritage, responsibility toward that heritage and the facts and objectives of those enemies who would destroy it."

General Walker was the commander of the Twenty-Fourth Infantry Division in Germany at the time.

POLICY SET 3 YEARS AGO

In his anti-Communist effort General Walker was operating under a three-year-old policy of the National Security Council. This called for a mobilization of all arms of Government—military, diplomatic, civilian—in the "cold-war" struggle.

Where the general went wrong, apparently, was in confusing his own political inclinations with the Administration's strategy for fighting the "cold war."

High officials at the Pentagon have said that they hope this example will have a restraining effect on other military men whose zeal in the same cause has been creating mounting embarrassment for them.

"No other disciplinary actions are being considered now," said Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs.

"It is no secret, however, that this sort of activity by representatives of the Defense Department has been a disturbing problem for us. We are trying to reach a more rational handling of this aspect of the 'cold war' effort than has been the case in the past."

The problem for the Pentagon arises out of the fact that a number of its higher ranking officers have participated in or publicly lent their support to a variety of so-called forums, schools, and seminars, ostensibly focused on the issues of national security. However, many of those groups—at least incidentally—are preoccupied with radically right-wing political philosophies.

STRESS ON ANTI-COMMUNISM

The chief ingredient of these philosophies is often a militant anti-communism. The argument is that Communist subversion today is rife among the schools, the churches, labor unions, Government offices and elsewhere, and that this is a far greater threat to national survival than the international aspects of the Communist conspiracy.

In this argument, liberalism is equated with socialism and socialism with communism. Thus it opposes most welfare legislation, many programs for international cooperation such as foreign aid and disarmament conferences, and any effort by this Government to seek accommodations with the Soviet Union. Such activities are depicted as a playing into the hands of the Communists, and sometimes as stemming from Communist subversion.

As part of such indoctrination, citizens often are urged to form their own groups to "educate" others about the Communist menace and to be alert in discerning Communist influences in their neighborhoods, schools, newspapers and local governing bodies.

The genesis of this problem goes back to the so-called "cold war policy" evolved by the National Security Council in the summer of 1958.

That was a year of mounting international tensions when Communist power seemed to be on the rise around the world. Vice President Richard M. Nixon was then the victim of assaults by Communist mobs during a good will tour of South America; President Eisenhower dispatched Marines to Lebanon to fend off Communist political aggressions in the Middle East; Communist China stepped up its artillery attacks on Quemoy and Matsu.

"COLD WAR" WIDENED

President Eisenhower and his top policy leaders decreed that the "cold war" could not be fought as a series of separate and often unrelated actions, as with foreign aid and propaganda. Rather, it must be fought with a concentration of all the resources of the Government and with the full understanding and support of the civilian population. It was decided, in particular, that the military should be used to reinforce the "cold-war" effort.

This was the substance of the still-classified "cold-war policy" paper of the National Security Council.

Its implementation in the Department of Defense was ordered through a series of directives and guidance papers, also classified, directed to the top civilian and uninformed authorities. These officials were told to take positive measures to alert the troops under their command and the public at large to the issues of national security and the "cold war."

How specific these directives were as to the particular tools and approaches to be employed in this effort cannot be learned. But commanding officers were supplied with literature and speech material and were required to report regularly on their "cold-war" activities.

However, it is known that commanding officers were allowed wide latitude in applying the directives within their commands.

Of the hundreds of military bases here and abroad, only a score have become involved in these programs to the point that they have caused alarm among the new civilian team in the Pentagon. Officials suspect, however, that the trend is somewhat more widespread than their reports currently indicate. They are quickly trying to find out how widespread it is.

A typical example about which they do know is a seminar labeled Project Action.

This was held at the Naval Air Station, Wold-Chamberlain Field, Minneapolis, on April 28 and 29 of this year. Capt. Robert T. Kiehing is the commanding officer of the station. He was a co-sponsor of the program in collaboration with a committee of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Chamber of Commerce.

The official announcement described the program as follows:

"The purpose of Project Action is to inspire the citizens of this area to take an active part in the war against the danger that threatens our freedom and American way of life.

"The program of talks and presentations by nationally known leaders for the cause of democracy will bring to light facts and figures concerning the rising crime rate, juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, the general degradation of morals, the complacent attitude toward patriotism and the tremendous gains the Communist conspiracy is making in this country * * *

The United States Naval Air Station is making facilities available for the seminar at the request of the Twin Cities Council for American Ideals. Out-of-local-area participants are invited to take advantage of overnight accommodations on the air station. A nominal fee of 50 cents per person will be charged. The [seminar] fee of \$7.50 includes two noon meals."

Approximately 500 persons from the upper Middle West attended the two-day program. Among the lecturers who addressed them were Dr. Gerhard Neimeyer, University of Notre Dame; Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, Bradley University; Dr. B. N. Bengston, Maywood, Ill., and two defectors from the Soviet Union. Several films were shown and literature was distributed purporting to explain the nature of Communist subversion, with particular emphasis on its attack upon American morals.

Among the scores of letters concerning Project Action that reached the Pentagon in the following days was one from a newspaper editor. It said in part:

"Perhaps someone can clear up for us our lack of understanding as to just how cosponsorship of such activities fits in with the Navy mission, or the over-all military mission, for that matter. It must be admitted that the local Project Action is politically partisan in a very real sense, although the partisanship is not of the party label type."

Another example of these political activities concerns Capt. Kenneth J. Sanger, commanding officer of the Sands Point Naval Air Station, Seattle, Wash. His activities over the last year have aroused a storm of controversy. Hundreds of letters, supporting and condemning him, have poured into the Pentagon and Congressional offices in recent weeks.

In pursuing what he describes as a program of "moral leadership," on and off base, Captain Sanger has made wide use of two controversial films, "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on The Map."

The first film was produced by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a counter-weapon against those who sought last year to terminate its career. It depicts as Communist inspired and managed last year's student riots in San Francisco, where the committee held an inquiry. The message of the film is that Communist influence has infiltrated school life across the nation. Critics contend the film is distorted and misleading.

FILM MADE AT COLLEGE

The second film was produced at Harding College, Searcy, Ark. It shows the United States virtually engulfed in a world gone either Communist or socialist, including all of its NATO allies except Portugal. Among those whom the film narrator cites as responsible for this condition are President Franklin D. Roosevelt, for having recognized the Soviet Union, and Gen. of the Army George C. Marshall, for having "made possible" the Communist take-over of China.

These films and accompanying lectures by Captain Sanger and members of his "team" have been exhibited before hundreds of audiences, many of them composed of high school and college students, all over the northwest. Among the many letters condemning the program was one published in The Seattle Times of last March 22 from James I. Kimbrough, who wrote in part:

"My concern is not with Captain Sanger; my concern is with the concept which suggests that any branch of the armed forces is the appropriate vehicle for the dissemination to the civilian population, and particularly to our youth, of proper attitudes of patriotism and concern for our democratic ideals. This is the nut of the issue, not communism or anti-communism."

Among numerous other incidents that have been brought to the attention of the Defense Department is the "Fourth Dimensional Warfare Seminar" held in Pittsburgh on April 15. Among those listed as giving "assistance and support" to the program were Lieut. Gen. Ridgely Gaither, Commanding General, Second Army, and Maj. Gen. Ralph C. Cooper, Commanding General Twenty-first Army Corps, and their respective staffs.

Several of the main speakers were highly critical of the Government's "cold war" policies.

One, for example, Admiral Chester Ward, retired, was reported in the local newspapers as having said that "some of the advisers now surrounding the President" have philosophies regarding foreign affairs "that would chill the average American." He mentioned by name in this connection, Adlai E. Stevenson, United States representative to the United Nations, and George F. Kennan, United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Members of the seminar were given a list of eighteen points on "What You Can Do in the Fight Against Communism."

"This sort of thing, if carried far enough among susceptible people, can breed a wave of vigilantism and witch-hunting," one Pentagon official said. "Even Mr. Hoover of the F.B.I., whom nobody could call 'soft on communism,' deplors these self-appointed counter-spies."

LEFT IN DELICATE POSITION

Civilian chiefs in the Pentagon find themselves in a delicate position with respect to this sort of activity in the higher uniformed echelons. They are disturbed by the right-wing views displayed by many of these officers. Yet, realistically they cannot either ignore the threat of Communist subversion or be tagged, as one of them put it, "as being against anti-communism."

"The real problem," he went on, "is one of proportion. Nearly every responsible official I know of thinks that the real war against communism has to be fought in the international arena as it's political, diplomatic, economic and in a limited sense, military. That, certainly, is the way the official policies of this Government are geared."

"When, as these fellows do, you change the target to looking for spies under the bed or in the P.T.A., you divert that much energy and support away from the main objective of the 'cold war.' And at the same time, you instill fear and distrust of our Government and its leader."

Reinforcing his point, he took from his desk a memorandum from Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, which has been circulated as "guidance" throughout the services. In part, it said:

"After the President has taken a position, has established a policy, or after appropriate officials in the Defense Department have established a policy, I expect that no member of the department, either civilian or military, will discuss that policy other than in a way to support it before the public."

The dilemma of these officials is deepened by two other considerations.

One is that the experience of the servicemen captured by the Communists during the Korean War revealed a serious gap in the moral stamina and the patriotic dedication of a good part of American youth.

This has greatly alarmed many military men who believe that the nation must breed a tougher type of soldier if it is to survive in another war. To many schooled

in the military discipline, there is a link between this moral and intellectual "softness" and certain social and political trends in American life over the last two decades.

The other consideration is that under the so-called "cold war policy" evolved by the National Security Council in 1958, commanding officers were encouraged to help stimulate a widespread public awareness of the challenges and problems of national security. Inevitably, many interpreted the national peril in their own political terms, and, like General Walker, shaped their attacks accordingly.

The new civilian team in the Pentagon has begun a careful screening of the vast amount of printed and filmed material used by the services in their programs of troop indoctrination and community relations. The only positive step they have taken so far is to ban official use of the film "Communism on the Map," and to relegate "Operation Abolition" to a "when-asked-for" basis of availability.

"But this sort of screening doesn't directly affect General X if he wants to make a speech about communism in the schools or play footsie with the Birch Society people," an official explained. "Unless he gets 'way off base, like General Walker did, we can't discipline him."

"There is a big gray area here where the difference between right and wrong—between saying too much and not saying too much—is terribly hard to distinguish. Who is to tell a three-star admiral how right wing—or how left wing—his political outlook can be?"

"Our best hope is that the extremists will begin to get the message themselves, as from General Walker and as from speeches of the secretaries, and use good judgment in what they say and do."

APPENDIX 6

The weekly Worker, published in New York and dated Sunday, July 16 (though appearing on newstands July 14, a couple of days earlier), included the directive (signed by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States) outlining implementation for the Red Manifesto proclaimed in Moscow on December 5, 1960.

This occupied the double spread in the center of the paper. It struck out at the "ultra-right," offered the Pentagon's 1958 directive as a special target, and laid down tactics to be employed concerning President Kennedy and his administration.

Arrogant and obvious as the directive appears regarding the White House and the administration generally, it cannot be brushed off, because the Reds have given sufficient evidence of their skill and facilities in entrapping non-Communists and even anti-Communists into falling into step behind them on some major pro-Communist issues. Both Republican and Democratic Parties could be forewarned of such traps by finding out this easy way about the Red plan for them. There isn't anything new about the way Communists operate, any more than there was about the Nazis. Totalitarians of such type contemptuously proclaim their tactics, in confidence that the Free World, especially the United States, will be too dense to believe what it hears and reads, and unable to see through confusion deliberately fomented as a screen for the intrigue, and too flexible to adopt a firm stand, even if, at last, what is being perpetrated against them dawns upon them.

Gus Hall's directive flatly declares: "If the tactical problem is solved correctly, it will be possible to slam shut the door on the ultra-right, defeat it, and force a shift in policy upon the administration itself in the direction of peace and democracy." The Red aim is described here as plainly as Communist language can make it. The words "peace and democracy" are employed in their dialectical ma-

terialist sense, "peace" indicating the state of affairs which arrives where all sides accept communism, and "democracy" the police state form of dictatorship that prevails in the Soviet bloc.

Hall is as obvious as Khrushchev. His directive confirms that no conciliatory move, no negotiation, can possibly satisfy the Reds, except surrender to communism. They are willing to bargain on the form our capitulation to communism may take, but in no respect on whether we will give up or not. This must be accepted as, in their language, "inevitable."

The showdown can be delayed apparently, during what is called the "co-existence" period. This is the interval to which Hall refers in talking of a "tactical problem" to be dealt with, it being no less than the capture of the administration, as much an objective as Khrushchev's own, which is to capture the American nation. We would disregard either boast at our peril, and in disregard of past experience with Red wishes.

The Red tactic is as simple as it is bold. The Communists intend to use whatever crackpot minority exists at the extreme American right—and we even have a minute, pathological group in Arlington calling itself the American Nazi Party, led by a clinical case called George Lincoln Rockwell—as a weapon to destroy opposition to communism in the United States, by employing the American left in a snowballing operation which would bring our moderates into a new "united front," as sought by the Reds, to make this conspiracy succeed.

The appearance of certain other articles, immediately following this additional clarification of Red aims, is not without significance.

Here is the Worker directive:

FOR PEOPLE'S UNITY AGAINST BIG BUSINESS AND WAR DANGER—THE ULTRA RIGHT, KENNEDY, AND ROLE OF THE PROGRESSIVES

(Our readers are invited to send in their views and comments on this important policy statement by Gus Hall. Our pages are opened for such discussion and for reports of united front discussions and activities in Left and progressive circles)

By Gus Hall

General Secretary, Communist Party, USA

The threat from the ultra-Right continues to mount in the United States. At the same time, the Kennedy administration pursues a cold war, interventionist, and generally antidemocratic course. We are, therefore, confronted with a unique problem of how, under these circumstances, to carry on the struggle for peace and democracy most effectively. The problem can best be posed by a series of questions.

Is the threat from the extreme Right serious, in the sense that it is approaching the position where it can exert the decisive influence in government or itself make a bid for power?

What is the relationship between the ultra-Right and the Kennedy administration, and how are they different? Is it necessary to draw a line of differentiation?

These are complex and serious problems. Much can be learned from our own history, especially the New Deal period, and also from parallel situations in other countries, as in France. But there are also new and special aspects which need serious assessment. Here I propose only to begin such an assessment.

1. THE THREAT FROM THE ULTRA-RIGHT

In the opinion of the Communist Party, there can be no question but that the threat from the extreme Right is serious. It arises from a situation which is new for the United States. This, the most powerful capitalist country, cannot have

its way in a world in which the forces of socialism, national liberation, and peace are playing a decisive role. Continuing rebuffs and defeats for the cold war and interventionist policy (most recently in Cuba and Laos) confront the dominant monopoly power with a choice, essentially between two alternatives. One is to end the cold war and to seek some form of accommodation to the socialist and national revolutionary world, which would mean a turn to a policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. Such a shift of policy would meet the most urgent national needs of the country in the present period of world history.

The other course is to seek to contain and reverse world trends by all means, including so-called limited war and the ultimate nuclear war. It is necessary to recognize that the present cold-war policies of the Administration lead in this direction. However, we must also recognize that the most aggressive and extreme expression of this suicidal policy comes from the ultra-Right.

War is their prescription for the crisis facing the country. Senator Goldwater and Richard Nixon, contending for leadership of the Right-wing Republicans advocate a war course, as do their Dixiecrat-Democratic allies, like Senators Eastland and Stathers. They are ready to take any pressing world issue, whether it be Cuba or Berlin, as an occasion for starting military action. They actively and aggressively seek the brink. In fact, Nixon is now calling for resuming the Dulles brinkmanship policy.

The Fascist Network

In back of this political war-minded condition, there is emerging in the country an organized movement of the fascist type, financed by the most chauvinist and aggressive sectors of Big Business. This is more serious than previous developments of this kind, and holds even a greater threat than the movement led by the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

For one thing, unlike previous fascist currents, the present movement is taking the form of a membership organization, in conspiratorial action groups, including secret military formations. The spearhead, the John Birch Society, is such an organization, around which is gathering a network of older hate groups, fascist sheets, and the White Citizens Councils and other die-hard racist groups of the South.

The fascist network is openly in a sort of division of labor, in conjunction with legislative committees, like HUAC and the Senate Internal Security Committee, and similar bodies in the states.

It is developing the demagoguery characteristic of fascist movements, such as repeal of the income tax, and is also beginning to put forth anti-monopoly slogans to ensnare middle-class dissent.

The fascist network openly contemptuous of democracy and the Bill of Rights, and advocates the right of "revolution"—that is, in fact, counter-revolution. It proclaims the aim of seizing political power. With considerable influence in government today, it is working to dominate it entirely.

Military-Big Business Complex

Another pronounced characteristic of this growing fascist movement is its spreading influence among the higher military personnel. The case of General Walker was only a symptom of a much deeper affliction. Even the Pentagon had to admit recently that it was "worried" over the extent of Birchite and similar influences among the ranking officers of the military services.

It is now known that a secret directive, issued by the National Security Council in 1958, instructed commanding officers here and abroad to "enlighten" both the armed forces and civilians in their areas on the "cold war policy." It was followed by additional guides and materials, still classified as secret, issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the basis of which seminars and meetings were organized by the military commands, often in cooperation with local business groups. Complaints have been pouring into the Pentagon against the political activities of the military staffs, especially their wide dissemination of Birchite propaganda and of the obnoxious films "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on the Map."

The entire line of policy, coupled with CIA and similar training in subversive and putschist activities, can not help but create our own "French Generals," who feel at home in fascist circles, and are ready to lend themselves to their objectives. It is an outgrowth of 20 years of militarization, of the close cooperation between the armed forces and monopoly in handling a \$40-billion budget annually, and of a desperation born of a bankrupt foreign policy.

This complex of monopoly and the military, nurtured on war economy, has diverted science to military uses almost entirely, buying out the main branches

of higher education and bringing within this web large sections of the student youth and intellectuals.

When you get this combination of high-ranking military officers, the fascist organizations in North and South, the Right Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, and deep inroads into governmental bodies and in the educational system, we can surely say that the threat from the ultra-Right is serious indeed.

The aim of this movement, shared by the varied elements of the ultra-Right and reaction, is the complete destruction of democracy, the wiping out of the main social gains won by labor and the people in the past decades, the suppression or subversion of independent people's organizations like the trade unions, peace groups, and Negro societies, and the incarnation of jimerowism and racism as a national creed—in a word, a garrison state that will seek to drive the country to war and self-destruction. * * *

This zig-zag, oscillating course is to be seen in a number of facts: For example, even while maintaining a cold-war policy, the Administration remains committed to a position of negotiation with the Soviet Union—as on Berlin, Laos, nuclear testing and disarmament. It is no small matter that Kennedy, despite all he said against it, had to resume talks with Khrushchev at Geneva, talks which had been ruptured by the U-2 incident.

It is also of significance that Kennedy decided not to back up the emigre invasion of Cuba with direct and open U.S. military support, as criminal and reprehensible as was his decision to go through with the military adventure, and as serious as still is the danger of U.S. imperialist intervention. It is also noteworthy that Kennedy must still seek to maintain democratic and anti-colonial pretenses in his dealings with the national liberation movements, although his objective remains to contain and reverse them. This creates certain embarrassments for him in world affairs, in view of anti-democratic measures at home.

2. THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION

The policies and actions of the Big Business-dominated Kennedy Administration during the first six months played into the hands of the ultra-Right. In substance, the main direction of its blows has been against peace and independence, against democratic and civil rights, against labor.

In this brief period, the Administration managed to proclaim a policy of "paramilitary" intervention against national liberation movements, stepped up the arms race and the cold war, and launched the military adventure against Cuba.

It sought to "cool off" the Freedom Riders, and has evaded legislative and executive action in the field of civil rights.

It invoked the Taft-Hartley law against the maritime strikers.

The Department of Justice declares the intention of the Administration to follow through on the fateful Supreme Court anti-Communist decisions by renewed vigorous prosecution of the Communist Party.

By proclaiming Communism the "real and imminent danger," President Kennedy has acceded to the central pretext under which the ultra-Right and fascist trends seek their aims, and has thereby stimulated reaction.

Not on Fascist Road

The Kennedy Administration pursues this course because it is dominated by the big monopolies and financiers whose interests it serves. This must be kept firmly in mind. Yet, while recognizing that it has taken measures which further curtail democratic rights, it would be a serious mistake to consider the Kennedy Administration as embarked at present on the fascist road.

To make the proper differentiation between Kennedy and the ultra-Right is the central tactical problem faced by the entire Left and all progressives. It is not simple. Kennedy is not a Roosevelt. Since his election, he has been moving in a reactionary direction. But it is not inevitable that he will continue along this path, giving ever wider openings to the ultra-Right.

If the tactical problem is solved correctly, it will be possible to slam shut the door on the ultra-Right, defeat it, and force a shift in policy upon the Administration itself in the direction of peace and democracy.

Kennedy's Contradictory Course

It seems to me we must always keep in mind the various necessities and commitments with which the Kennedy Administration must operate, and which the ultra-Right wants to ignore and shove aside.

The Kennedy Administration pursues a contradictory course which flows from the instability of the U.S. imperialist position, from the new relationship of world forces (the growing strength of the socialist, anti-imperialist, and peace forces), which it recognizes but does not fully and properly assess.

The Important Difference

It is of course true that these maneuvers, pretenses, and concessions are forced upon him by the strength of the world peace forces, by the deterioration of imperialism, by the declining world prestige and position of U.S. imperialism in particular, and by the deep-rooted peace and democratic sentiment of the American people.

But the fact remains that the Kennedy administration has not closed the door to accommodation to these world realities, as the ultra-Right wishes it to do, and this involves a certain recognition of the new necessities of the present-day world at home and abroad. This is an important difference, which the forces for peace and democracy must recognize and exploit in order to bring about the required change in national policy.

Turning to the domestic scene, we must also recognize that as a consequence of the elections and of labor, Negro, and liberal support, it is difficult for Kennedy to ignore his commitments in the field of social legislation, which the ultra-Right would like to cancel out entirely. As inadequate as his measures are, they have to be fought for in a reactionary Congress.

Shedding of Illusions

It is a good thing that many of the illusions about Kennedy in the ranks of labor, the Negro people and other popular circles are now being shed as a result of experience. I need only mention the deep cleavage, after the Cuban fiasco, among the liberals who supported Kennedy, the sharp criticism from labor following his use of Taft-Hartley, the scorn with which many Negro leaders and militants greeted the "cooling off" proposition with respect to implementing of the rights of Negro Americans, the vigor with which the youth movement fights the anti-democratic attack.

Moreover, there is a growing insistence in the ranks of labor and among other people's forces upon more adequate and far-reaching measures to meet the severe problem of mounting unemployment, which has become a permanent fixture affecting the lives of millions. The paltry measures of the Administration leave practically unsolved the many accumulating social problems arising from automation, the impoverishment of entire regions, the permanent eviction of millions of farmers from production, the old and new slum areas, the special suffering of the masses of Negro, Puerto Ricans and other underprivileged Americans, the crisis of the educational system, and the chaotic conditions of the Metropolitan areas. Much more needs to be done to even approach the solution of problems of the aged, public health and the youth. The rising mass movements in the country bear witness to the growing determination of the people to find positive solutions.

It would be wishful thinking to assume that all liberal or forward-looking forces in the Kennedy camp, who must in their way participate in turning the tide, are equally aware of the double role played by Kennedy. These elements can become an effective positive force once they realize it is necessary to fight Kennedy's cold war and antidemocratic policies in order to defend democracy and to close the door to the extreme Right and defeat the threat from that direction.

AFL-CIO Cold War Resolution

We need to be aware that when people in large numbers become disillusioned or panicky there is always the danger that they may be entrapped by the demagoguery of the ultra-Right, especially when their leaders become the instruments or allies of monopoly. For example, the recent statement of the AFL-CIO executive council, drawn up by professional anti-Communists, supports the most aggressive warlike incitement in the so-called Berlin crisis, and even urges the resumption of nuclear testing.

Such a position can only have the most harmful effects upon the struggles of the trade unions themselves for economic and social demands, help the employers weaken the unions, and open the door wide to the ultra-Right type of demagoguery within labor itself. The council resolution, I am sure, does not represent the view of most trade unionists, nor even of all heads and officers of the unions in the executive council. It is about time that labor leaders with views closer to the feelings of the membership should speak out clearly against the cold war and reactionary position which is imposed by a small group at the top.

The Main Enemy

To sum up on this point, it seems to me that the way to meet the unique tactical problem presented by a threat from the extreme Right and by an Administration moving in a reactionary direction is somewhat along these lines.

It would be a serious mistake to underestimate the dangers to peace and democracy of the Kennedy Administration. It would be no less serious a mistake to under-rate the possibilities of pressuring it in another direction. It is essential to fight imperialism, war, and reactionary measures whether they come from the Kennedy government or the ultra-Right.

However, the situation requires that the main direction of the attack should be at the warmongering and fascist forces, who are pressuring the Kennedy Administration further to the Right. At the same time, every policy or action of Kennedy that plays into the hands of the Right should be sharply opposed and criticized, building up the pressures upon the Administration for a change of policy in the direction of peaceful co-existence and defense of democracy.

It is necessary to work for the widest united front of all labor, Negro people, peace and progressive forces in the country, embracing democratic elements of all political views, in a struggle against Big Business reaction and war danger. It is essential to organize a counteroffensive against Big Business attacks on the people—for improving conditions at the expense of the monopolists, for jobs, for equal rights for the Negro people, and above all for the preservation of peace and democracy. In all this, the working class, the labor movement, should be the basis.

As I have already said, this is not simple. But it can be done. It has been done before during the Roosevelt days, particularly because of the role played by a resurgent labor movement. It can be done again. It will take great efforts, sacrifice, and fighting spirit.

Above all, it requires a common outlook and united front activity in all fields by the Left and progressive forces, Communist and non-Communist. Without the unity of such forces in the ranks of labor, among the Negro people, in the youth movement, and among the fighters for peace and democracy, the promising popular movements now arising will remain disjointed and apart, prey to the mounting attacks of reaction.

3. LEFT-PROGRESSIVE UNITY

How is such unity to be attained? First, of course, it is necessary to reach a mutually agreed-upon outlook for the immediate period ahead, agreement on tactics and on programs. This requires discussion among all forces of the Left, in which past differences are subordinated to the need to find common ground to meet the onslaught of reaction. Still better, common action should develop around such issues and positions that can be immediately agreed upon, even while broader and long-range discussions proceed.

Attitudes to Communist Party

One of the obstacles in some parts of the Left is a sharply critical or negative attitude to the Communist Party. Some of it is of older social-democratic or Trotskyite origin, but another current is of more recent vintage. This is the product in one way or another of the intensified campaign by Big Business against communism, of the renewed reactionary attacks, and of the recent crisis in the Communist Party.

Undoubtedly, the Party crisis contributed to a certain disorientation in the Left. While I realize that this cannot be dismissed with a sweep of the hand, the fact remains that the new reactionary attack opened by the Supreme Court decisions has created a new situation both for the Party and the entire Left.

For example, how can the position now be defended that the Communist Party is no longer needed in the United States? Those on the Left who claimed this should think over how it is that the reactionary majority of the Supreme Court, for its own motives and reasons, came to a similar conclusion.

Naturally, we have refused to accept this judgment, whether it comes from the High Court or elsewhere. On the contrary, we have made clear our firm determination to defend the Constitutional rights of the Party against every effort of the Department of Justice to force us to comply with the monstrous registration and other provisions of the anti-Communist laws.

Is this a service or a disservice to the Left and to the cause of peace and democracy? Would it not be a disastrous setback to the Left and all forces of progress if those who wished to smash us or dissolve us had their way? Is not the launching of a new attack against us a signal that peace and democracy are in serious danger?

In fact, it was the clear fighting stand of the Communist Party which made possible the first victory in the struggle against the implementation of the Court decisions—the staying of the mandate pending consideration of the petition for rehearing in the Fall term of the Supreme Court.

A very important lesson is to be learned from this. No matter what one's attitude may be towards the Communist Party, it must be recognized that the fight for its rights as a political party is a matter of defending the Bill of Rights and all democratic rights, and is the concern of all, especially of all Left, democratic, and peace forces, and not of the Communist alone. This is an old lesson, but sometimes it has to be learned anew.

Role of Communist Issue

Therefore, I think it is clear that the Left and progressive forces cannot permit themselves to be split on the Communist issue, if there is to be unity and common action. Refusal to work with Communists for defense of peace and democracy and for the people's needs is the first step, sometimes the decisive one, in splitting the people's forces. It is the wedge driven into the ranks of labor and the people by reaction, as its most potent weapon against the popular movements.

Anti-Communist attitudes in the ranks of the Left and progressive forces can only have the result of contributing to the aims of reaction by spreading the kind of ideological confusion that can render the moving forces of the people helpless and ineffective.

Therefore, if unity is to be attained in the ranks of the Left as a means of stimulating wider activity—if such unity means anything—it must be unity of Communist and non-Communist forces, with the give and take that is required to reach minimum agreement. If there is one thing everyone should have learned from the history of the past decades it is the stalwart and indispensable role of Communists in the struggle against reactionary and war forces.

United Front Electoral Policy

Finally, let me emphasize what I think is a central objective toward which all forces on the Left are striving. If the tactic outlined in the previous section is correct, and I think it is, the need for an independent electoral policy for the Left and progressive forces around which broader peace and democratic forces can be mobilized, assumes extraordinary importance.

The Left and progressives, including ourselves, have not given this the seriousness it requires, for which we have not refrained from criticizing ourselves, as can be seen from our report to the national committee in January of this year.

The municipal elections in New York and other cities present an opportunity which should not be missed to take the initial steps toward an independent united front electoral policy, around the central issues of peace, equal rights, the people's needs, and democracy. In evolving such a policy and united front electoral tickets, we should also look ahead to the elections of 1962 and 1964, with the aim of presenting meaningful alternatives to labor, the Negro and other people's forces in terms of their needs and interests. This is a big task, and needs the unstinting attention and energy of the Left and progressive forces in all fields.

Action Needed Now

I am confident that the onslaught of reaction can be repulsed, and the country again set on the course of peace and democracy. The Communists, for their part, are ready to join with all other Left and progressive forces to establish the perspective and unity that is required if reaction is to be defeated and peace defended.

The Communists have no self-serving interest in urging unity of Left and progressive forces. Everyone recognizes that such unity is needed to defeat reaction and end the cold war. The situation itself begs for common actions, united fronts, and broader parallel movements—all serving the cause of peace and democracy.

It seems to me imperative that Left and progressive forces should not lose a moment in beginning now to find the common meeting ground, in fraternal discussions, for the united front approach and programs leading to common action for common objectives.

There should be a coming together of such forces in the ranks of labor, in the Negro rights movement, in the youth movement, among the advocates of peace. The effort should be made wherever possible, in the localities and cities and communities, not waiting for a nationwide development, but contributing to it, building up the movement, giving it a living base on which it can flourish.

It is my hope that all elements and currents of the Left will set such a movement into motion, that in their publications and organizations discussions of this kind should proceed. I am convinced that once this is set in motion, it will grow and spread with a speed and depth that will surprise all of us.

APPENDIX 7

A Marquis Childs column was published in the Washington Post of July 14 that was remarkable in two respects: for its timing as well as its content. Its timing was perfectly geared to the shift into high in the anti-anti-Communist drive. It dealt with the main points in the campaign to liquidate the anti-Communist movement generally, especially by pulling the carpet out from under the Pentagon program.

Of significance for those interested in the role "leaks" play in "psywar" pressures, is its reference to: "A memorandum recently sent from Capitol Hill to the White House and thence to the Department of Defense." Of equal significance is its snide allusion to "an Eisenhower directive of 1958, still in force, that put the military in the business of helping to alert Americans to the need for an over-all war strategy."

These points are major ones in the Gus Hall directive. The memorandum was further clarified in the New York Times and Washington Post in articles a few days later, on July 21.

This propaganda barrage is evidence of the finesse with which coordination and follow-through are employed in pursuance of Red strategy in its anti-anti-Communist drive.

The column follows:

BIRCHITES FINDING ALLIES IN MILITARY

One of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's goals is to make sure that the military is not playing politics under the guise of educating the public "to the menace of the cold war."

It was an Eisenhower Administration directive of 1953, still in force, that put the military in the business of helping to alert Americans to the need for an over-all cold war strategy. This was a radical departure from American tradition which has held that the place of the military in American life is strictly limited to the professional task of training and equipping the armed services for the Nation's defense.

A memorandum recently sent from Capitol Hill to the White House and thence to the Department of Defense suggests that, with the directive as a justification, some of the military are aiding and abetting the "radical right" which at the extreme end of the political spectrum is represented by the John Birch Society. This goes so far as to include opposition—implied if not open—to programs such as foreign aid championed by both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy.

There is particular sensitivity about the foreign-aid issue, since the President is currently and somewhat belatedly trying to rally the widest possible support for his proposal to expand the scope of the foreign-aid program. For the radical right and certain of its military allies, spending for foreign aid is not merely a waste but perhaps downright subversive. Men in uniform have taken a leading part in, and in some instances have initiated, the memorandum points out, "Alerts," "Seminars," "Freedom Forums," "Strategy for Survival Conferences," and "4th Dimensional Warfare Seminars."

"The content no doubt has varied from program to program," the study notes, "but running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sell-outs,' 'appeasements,' etc. Radical right-wing speakers dominate the programs.

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism and the latter with communism. Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of Social Security (particularly medical care under Social Security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy, would be characterized as steps toward communism."

The memorandum cites several examples. One was a "4th Dimensional Warfare Seminar" sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Pittsburgh "in cooperation with various military organizations in the Pittsburgh area." The principal speaker was an Adm. Chester Ward (ret.) who was quoted as saying that "some of the advisers now surrounding the President" have philosophies regarding foreign affairs "that would chill the typical American." He referred to Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson and Ambassador to Yugoslavia George F. Kennan by name.

A year ago the United States Naval Air Station at Glenview, Ill., initiated an "Education for American Security" school. The speakers were for the most part professional anti-Communists who earn their living by specializing on the "danger from within" theme.

The fear of congressional and other critics of this approach is that far from uniting Americans in the face of a grave threat from the Communist challenge everywhere it has the opposite effect. By creating fear, suspicion and hatred it sets Americans against each other. Hammering on the theme of infiltration and internal subversion, it suggests that professional agencies such as the FBI have failed to protect the Nation. Or, conversely, it implies that security agencies, preferably military, should be put in charge of indoctrination of the civil population.

A proper step has just been taken in putting the activities carried out within the scope of the directive of 1958 under the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. If the military is to take part in this kind of activity it should at the very least be coordinated with the programs the Government is actively sponsoring.

There is little sense in one arm of the Government undercutting the policy that another arm of Government is trying to implement. The net effect is to make this country look so confused and so frightened as to be unable to contemplate the realities of the present-day world.

APPENDIX 8

The extraordinary synchronization in the Red anti-anti-Communist drive was vividly exemplified by a half-page article that covered the top half of the first page in the editorial section of the Sunday Washington Post on July 16.

The article, signed by Edward T. Folliard, was given a banner headline entitled: "American 'Right' Embraces a Curious Mixture." If one sought implementation of the original Red Manifesto's summons, and the tactics in support of it as just published by Gus Hall, here it was. How this could come about, what specific links existed in the shadow world of Red "psywar", what exact strings were pulled far behind, are of course beyond this analyst to say, certainly beyond the ken of the Washington Post feature writer. But this much is obvious: it is impossible for this to have been without propaganda links, for there not to have been any "psywar" string-pulling.

Indeed, this sort of propaganda orchestration is what the so-called scientific propaganda pressures of modern "psywar" are supposed to achieve. The players know only the conductor in front of them, and he may be totally ignorant of who selected the music, arranged the program, and why. The extraordinary orchestration in the articles that preceded and appeared in leading newspapers and magazines about the time of the Gus Hall statement is in fullest accord with the new "unity" line of the Red Manifesto, which instructed the Communist Party to ignore ideological differences in building up support for the position taken by the Moscow-Peking-through-Havana Axis.

The Washington Post feature of July 16 follows: 7-16-61

AMERICAN "RIGHT" EMBRACES A CURIOUS MIXTURE

By Edward T. Folliard

Staff Reporter

In this summer of 1961, clouded as it is by Soviet Premier Khrushchev's threat of war over Berlin, Americans are engaged in a strange controversy over the strength of communism at home.

Some of the foremost students of Red activity in the United States—notably the Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S., of the National Catholic Welfare Conference—say that the Communist Party in this country has been "drastically weakened." They say that the area of Red danger now is not at home but abroad.

However, right-wing activists like Robert Welch of the Birch Society insist that "our danger remains almost entirely internal, from Communist influence right in our midst and treason right in our Government." They say that the Red menace at home is now at a peak danger point.

To Father Cronin, the "surprising upsurge" of alarm over domestic Reds at this time is a paradox. He believes that even the claimed strength of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—10,000—is exaggerated.

A CALCULATED ASSAULT

But this is not merely an intellectual matter, a clash of viewpoints. Right-wing groups, refusing to accept the view that the danger is primarily overseas, are in full cry against the Kennedy Administration's program for foreign aid to thwart the spread of communism, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

They are also demanding that the United States pull out of the United Nations, repeal the 16th Amendment (which authorized the Federal income tax), invade Cuba, bring home the five American divisions in West Germany and "be prepared to stand alone."

The political right in this country is held down by a curious agglomeration representing a broad spectrum of ideas and relative degrees of respectability. Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and his adherents are there. But there, too, are people whom Goldwater would detest and people who say that Goldwater is "tainted with socialism." Also there are citizens, many of them wealthy, who are outraged by big government and the heavy tax bite on their bankrolls.

On the extreme right are the "hate groups" made up of men and women who invariably call themselves "patriots" and "true Americans" and pour their venom not only on Reds but on "niggers and Jews"—and who, furthermore, question the loyalty of any who disagree with them.

EMBARRASSING DUALITY

There is some overlapping on the right, of course, and this is often a cause for embarrassment. One of the most active and eloquent spokesmen for the aforementioned money-minded group is Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers (USA, Ret.), who was military secretary to Gen. Douglas MacArthur in World War II.

He has his headquarters at 1001 Connecticut Ave. N.W. and he wears two hats. That is, he is national director of "For America" and also of the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee."

As the "For America" spokesman, Gen. Fellers calls for repeal of the Federal income tax. He says also that the United States must end peacetime conscription, maintain "overwhelming air power" and "get the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S."

"For America" also favors congressional investigations "into Communist-socialist activities" and an end to compulsory unionism.

In testifying on Capitol Hill recently for the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee," Fellers urged the return of American troops from West Germany. Appearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee June 21, he argued against the Kennedy Administration's foreign aid program and also against this country's "lavish" support of European nations which help make up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"At all costs, it is imperative that we be prepared to stand alone," he said. To this end, he criticized President Kennedy for not spending more on air power.

How the United States would be able to finance air power, or any kind of striking power, if "For America" had its way and the income tax were abolished, is hard to figure out.

Gen. Fellers also told the House committee that foreign aid ought to be held to less than \$1 billion. Other members of "For America" and the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee" are much more vehement than Fellers on this subject.

Spruille Braden, of New York, who was Ambassador to Argentina for a short period in 1945, has said, "Truly, foreign aid is a treacherous if not treasonous adventure."

Braden is one of 16 men and women who are members of both "For America" and the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee." Among these 16 are two other well-known military figures besides Fellers—Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer (USA, Ret.) and Lieut. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer (USAF, Ret.).

Others are J. Bracken Lee, former Governor of Utah and national chairman of "For America"; Dean Clarence Manion, formerly with Notre Dame University; Samuel B. Pettengill, former Republican House member from Indiana, and Mrs. Garvin E. Tankersley of nearby Maryland.

At the headquarters at 1001 Connecticut Avenue, "For America" is described as a political activist group and the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee" as a lobbying organization. The committee appears to be well-heeled.

Heading it as national chairman is Walter Harnischfeger, chairman of the board of the Harnischfeger Corp. of Milwaukee, producer of earth-moving and lifting equipment used in nearly every country in the world. Another prominent committee member is Willard F. Rockwell, chairman of the board of the Rockwell Manufacturing Co., and Rockwell-Standard Corp. of Pittsburgh, which in 1959 had more than \$400 million in sales.

THE FLUORIDATION FACTION

Whatever may be thought of the views of such men, not all of them are in the same class with those who are still farther to the right. These not only favor abolition of the income tax, withdrawal from the U.N. and scrapping of foreign aid, but they call for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, agree with Robert Welch's charge that Gen. Eisenhower in his White House days was "a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy" and charge that the fluoridation of water is a Red plot to poison and weaken Americans.

Is there a resurgence of political strength on the far right? No, according to Herman Edelsberg, Washington representative of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

"There has, of course, been a measurable increase in activity—and recently an even greater increase in publicity—but there's no evidence of a growth in underlying, lasting strength," Edelsberg says.

"Some new faces have cropped up on the right, but the group picture looks much the same. The names of the organizations may be new, but the slogans are old and frayed.

"After all, how far can the John Birch Society go on a program of fighting communism by impeaching the Chief Justice of the United States, denouncing the loyalty of Mr. Eisenhower and abolishing the income tax?

"It may not be fashionable now to be optimistic about the power of reason in human affairs, but I believe that in this basically healthy America the Birch nonsense is self-defeating. True, our history shows a wide tolerance of political quackery, but in the showdown such movements have always broken up on the rock of American commonsense and fair play.

"The Birch Society carries another liability—it has a fatal attraction for the lunatic fringe. Its leader, Robert Welch, has gone to some pains to disassociate the society from the anti-Semites and other bigots, but it is no reflection on his sincerity to note that inevitably he has failed. So long as his group is based on exploiting anxiety, suspicion and mistrust, so long will it provide the climate and soil in which the professional bigot flourishes.

"There has always been a small minority of Americans who will not believe that our national difficulties and frustrations may be the result of powerful, impersonal tides in economics and politics but will insist on seeing history, particularly unpleasant history, as a conspiracy of secret plotters whom they can self-righteously hate. I don't believe this group has grown significantly larger in the last year. The trouble is that this is a most dangerous time to have our national ills diagnosed, and prescribed for, by witch doctors."

The extreme right-wingers are angry with Father Cronin for saying that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is no longer much of a threat, but they find it difficult to challenge his credentials. He is a Red hunter from way back and, unlike so many others, an effective one.

Father Cronin was professor of philosophy and economics at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore when, in 1940, he began looking into Communist infiltration in labor unions. In 1944 he made a more general study of Red activity for the Catholic bishops of the United States.

Earl Maza, in his biography of Richard M. Nixon, relates that it was from Father Cronin that Nixon, then a freshman House member, learned about Alger Hiss.

Now, Father Cronin says that "the problem of internal security had been substantially taken care of by 1950." The date is significant, for it was in 1950 that the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) began his career as a Red hunter. By that time, Father Cronin says, Communists had been cleaned out of the Government and out of labor unions.

What disturbs Father Cronin at the moment is a fear that today's Red hunters will weaken the Nation by questioning the loyalty of those who disagree with them. He mentioned this in a notable article he wrote for the April 22 issue of *America*, the Jesuit weekly review.

"Unfortunately," Father Cronin wrote, "several anti-Communist organizations in the United States today not only fail to distinguish between judgment and loyalty; they actively assail the loyalty of those whose views they oppose. They envision a vast, secret, conspiratorial Communist apparatus that is widely subverting Government, schools and universities, research organizations, the churches and the various media for affecting public opinion.

"Nor are they willing to let their targets off with the relatively mild indictment of being unwitting dupes of the Communist conspiracy. They are eager to allege formal, not merely material, guilt."

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is not one to downrate the threat of Communists in the United States. But even he is concerned about the thing that bothers Father Cronin—that is, the reckless charges Americans are hurling at one another. In the FBI Bulletin of April, Hoover said:

"The label of 'Communist' is too often indiscriminately attached to those whose views differ from the majority. Those whose lives are not led according to what one segment of society might decree to be the 'norm' are too frequently challenged as 'Reds'."

D. W. Brogan, professor of political science at Cambridge University, who knows the United States well, wrote an article for *Harper's* in 1952 that might possibly explain the attitude of some Americans who, filled with anger and frustration, put the blame on home-bred Reds.

Brogan entitled his article, "The Illusion of American Omnipotence," and explained:

"This is the illusion that any situation which distresses or endangers the United States can only exist because some Americans have been fools or knaves. * * * Many, very many Americans, it seems to me, find it inconceivable that an American policy, announced and carried out by the American Government, acting with the support of the American people, does not immediately succeed.

"If it does not, this, they feel, must be because of stupidity or treason."

Also, there would seem to be people who have a need to hate, sometimes because of their own frustrations and failures. Stendahl remarked in "The Red and the Black" that it was only a step from anger at oneself to rage at others.

APPENDIX 9

Every so often, an old note is struck along with the new, in support of the anti-anti-Communist drive. The *Washington Post* located a former Soviet agent, who had been around for some years now, interviewed him, and ran him on the first page. Did he say anything new and startling? What he said or how it sounded in the interview, was the old cliché that anti-Communists are "spreading confusion" and are "more valuable" to Moscow than Red agents.

His interview took the additional line that anti-Communist activity, especially in the Pentagon, was a reflection of Birch Society views and was the "fanning of religious and religious conflict."—Just to make this amazing example of modern journalistic enterprise complete, it took a vicarious slap at congressional inquiry into communism.

This was page 1 news for July 14, under a two-column headline fitting neatly into the expanded anti-anti-Communist drive. Here is the article:

EX-SPY SAYS ANTI-REDS AID SOVIET AIMS IN U.S.

By Rasa Gustaitis

Staff Reporter

WP
7-14-61
p-1

A former Soviet spy in Czechoslovakia believes that anti-Communist groups spreading confusion in the United States are more valuable to the U.S.S.R. than bona fide Reds seeking secrets.

Anatoli Granovsky, 39, who was a captain of political intelligence in the Ministry of State Security of the Soviet Union in 1945 and 1946 and earlier had been a member of the Soviet Secret Police (NKVD) said in an interview here:

"The Soviet Communists would sacrifice a thousand American Communists to save the John Birch Society, for instance. I don't mean the Birch Society is Communist-infiltrated. It doesn't have to be. By discrediting prominent Americans, it confuses the population about whom to trust."

"In socializing Czechoslovakia (which fell to the Communists in 1948) we did everything to divide the armed forces units trained by the British and the Americans."

"In 1948 there was very little armed forces resistance because the American-trained tank units and the British-trained air force had been replaced by Communist-trained men."

This objective was accomplished by spreading rumors about officers until they were so thoroughly discredited their men would not obey them and they had to be removed, Granovsky explained.

The Soviets also used tactics to divide Protestants and Catholics, Czechs, Sudeten-Germans and Slovaks, and to discredit businessmen, he said.

Czechoslovakia was a highly developed country, the only one in Eastern Europe to maintain a democratic form of government between the two World Wars, and had a high standard of living.

"Not just backward countries, but any community or country can thus be destroyed," declared the former NKVD man.

Therefore fanning of religious and racial conflict, attempts to discredit the Central Intelligence Agency and to promote rivalries among the branches of the armed forces aid the Communist cause, Granovsky said. He added:

"If the time and energy of decisionmakers is absorbed by armed services squabbling, their mobility and strength is drained and there is no need for Soviet agents to influence American generals."

Granovsky also believes that the House Un-American Activities Committee should be abolished. "Counterintelligence work cannot be done by semi-amateurs," he declared.

Son of a Soviet Central Executive Committee member who was purged, the former spy fled to Sweden in 1946 and later made his way to Brazil where he wrote a book, "All Pity Choked," about his experiences. It was published in London in 1955.

He has wandered around in the United States for two years, doing odd jobs in various cities. He said he came to Washington recently, hoping to cure a peptic ulcer and find work.

APPENDIX 10

The Reporter magazine, in its July 20 issue, ran a 4½-page article by its executive editor, Philip Horton, entitled "Revivalism on the Far Right." This was an all-out operation, that outsmarted anything it had attacked in the past by using the word "McCarthyism," now employed by it as a Pavlovian trigger word in propaganda, without relation to anyone dead or alive, except through sheer coincidence.

"Guilt by association" is said to be held in horror in Reporter circles. Certainly the tag has been freely used by them as a propaganda weapon when it has to do with the uprooting of Reds. But

now, employed to uproot anti-Communists, it has been made into a tactic used more than any other in this new Red drive. Indeed, it is the most characteristic part of the anti-anti-Communist campaign. This Reporter article is a vivid example of it.

One organization it attacks this way has always leaned over backwards to avoid implication in anything that might be considered unfair to any individual, forbidding the naming of names, keeping out extremist literature of any kind. Philip Horton was able to find something devilish even in this. He analyzed it as a sort of round-robin smear, that sought to convey the impression that "there are communists everywhere you look. . . ." When an anti-Communist deed or person is to be attacked, presumably all is grist to the mill; one can be damned for doing something, or for not doing it.

The Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, referred to here, has been immune to attack hitherto. The article associates it with extremism, nonetheless. No matter how, any criticism of communism apparently must be roundly condemned in accordance with the Red anti-anti-Communist drive. The similarity between the propaganda pitch used, and the numerous outlets it has obtained in the press, would be impossible without there being some central source for it. A comparison of the Reporter outburst with others published about the same time shows a fantastic similarity, that cannot be brushed off as accidental.

The article, too, is an example of an intriguing tactic in the manipulation of words. Words and phrases that have favorable connotation in ordinary language are likely to be put in quotation marks, giving them a sinister slant. This tactic is being met with more and more. It is being done in Communist literature to distinguish words in their so-called bourgeois sense, as found in our dictionaries, from words that the Reds regard as correctly employed in their dialectical materialist meaning. Failure of non-Communists, and even anti-Communists, to put words, when used in a Red sense, inside quotation marks is responsible for a large amount of the enemy's success in putting across its misinformation and propaganda.

The Reporter article in its first column uses quotation marks, for instance, when referring to "schools" and "seminars", if these are anti-Communist. Other words enclosed in quotation marks are "doctors", "scientists", and "authorities". In each case, a slur is achieved on some anti-Communist. The article ends up with an attack on the projected Freedom Academy Bill, that would provide a West Point for psychological warfare.

The Reporter piece follows:

AT HOME AND ABROAD—REVIVALISM ON THE FAR RIGHT

By Philip Horton

A Texas insurance man named William P. Strube, Jr., who is on the faculty of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, stood before a blackboard. "Here's a Communist," he said as he tapped a piece of chalk on the clean board; "there's one—here's one—there's one. Get him! Sick him! Sock him! Rock him! Have I attacked anyone? Besmirched their character or anyone else?" Strube, who is second in command to Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, leader of the Crusade, takes obvious pride in the fact that he names no names and so cannot be accused of libel or defamation. It is not clear, however, whether this particular virtue is due to scrupulosity on Strube's part or to a feeling that it is useless to bother besmirching mere individuals by name, since there are Communists everywhere you look these days anyway.

And it's not only the Communists you have to sock and rock but also those who follow the Communist line, which Strube has defined as "anything, be it word, action, or deed, or lack of same, whether written, spoken or performed by Communist, non-Communist, or an anti-Communist that aids the Communist in his program of world conquest." With so many people to fight and so many actions or lack of them to halt, it is no wonder that Strube and his fellow evangelists are busy recruiting zealous believers up and down the land.

The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade is not alone in this battle; aside from the John Birch Society, there are also the National Education Program, the Christian Crusade, and many lesser outfits. Although the various traveling "schools," and "seminars" of the new anti-Communist movement on the far Right are not formally connected with the John Birch Society, their preachers, prophets, and "doctors" of uncertain academic background often function as advance men for the establishment of a Birch group in a given community. "You know," Fred Schwarz said recently of Robert Welch, "I sometimes get the notion he follows me around the country signing up people after I have worked them up." Welch is not unappreciative. "The Fred Schwarz schools," he declared last spring, "have already done a superb job of providing this preliminary education."

What sort of education is being provided by these ever multiplying and highly successful itinerant schools? The Christian Crusade, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and the National Education Program, which is run by Dr. George Benson, president of Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas, are all in agreement with the general beliefs of Welch that liberalism equals socialism, that socialism equals Communism, and that our greatest danger is from infiltration and treason at home. The essence of their message is that the Communists, having promised to dominate the world, already are far along the road to conquering the United States because of their success in taking over our schools, universities, community institutions, youth organizations, and government itself. The complete Communist victory in the United States is imminent: Dr. Schwarz says 1973 and Strube says 1966. Indeed, *Communism on the Map*, a recorded lecture illustrated by film, made and distributed by the National Education Program and already attended by ten million Americans, presents a picture of the United States surrounded by a hostile world and ready to fall. It explains that countries like France, Sweden, and Norway are for all practical purposes in the Communist camp right now. For those who may not understand the relationship between socialism and Communism, the narrator points out that U.S.S.R. stands for Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Communist tide sweeps across the map, and the only countries that do not turn visibly red in the course of the talk are Spain, Switzerland, and the United States, which is left with an ominous question mark at the end.

Despite the direness of the international situation as these groups see it, and despite the stress they put on their own roles as "scientists" and "authorities" in the field of international Communism, the crusaders suggest few measures to deal with Communism as an international problem, except such diplomatic moves as getting the Soviet Union out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S.A. Some of them even assert that our military program is a fraud. For since the main threat comes from within, our own military defenses are, in Welch's words, "wasteful measures of a phony defense against an external enemy." These single-minded anti-Communists have, to be sure, contributed some astonishing insights concerning the Soviet conspiracy. Dr. Schwarz, for example has pointed out that his special understanding of the Communist mind and of Communist history makes it clear to him that any number of executed officials—Beria and the Czechoslovakian Jewish leaders—ordered their own deaths to help promote world Communism.

But of course Dr. Schwarz's principal interest is not in what happens abroad but in fighting world Communism at home. The *Christian Century*, which sent a representative to one of the Crusade's seminars in Glenview, Illinois, reported that the "enemies" slain by Dr. Schwarz and his fellow lecturers included "liberals, modernists, John Dewey, Kirtley Mather, Harvard students, high school students, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, textbooks, the American Friends Service Committee, pacifists, the book sections of the New York Times and the *Herald Tribune*, Elmer Davis, public libraries . . . , beatniks, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and naïve ministers."

BIRCH BARK AND SNAKE ROOT

To help reverse the trend toward Communism in the United States, Dr. Schwarz and his colleagues have adopted techniques reminiscent of evangelists and patent-medicine salesmen, rousing their audiences to an awareness first of the horrors of "satanic Communism" and finally showing the way to salvation. "Christians! to arms," cries Dr. Schwarz. "The enemy is at the gate. Buckle on the armor of the Christian and forth to the battle." There is, of course, a good deal of imaginary gunplay. Schwarz has described how we shall ultimately be shot by the Communists ("When they come for you, as they have for many others, and on a dark night, in a dark cellar, they take a wide bore revolver with a soft nose bullet, and they place it at the nape of your neck," and so on), and Welch has issued a stern directive to his members to fight any legislation requiring the registration of firearms, since "no dictator-tyrant can long rule a people previously accustomed to freedom where private firearms are plentiful among its citizenry."

Despite Welch's interest in firearms, most crusaders seem interested only in getting copies of their own books and films into the hands of their audiences. At about the same moment that any competent revivalist stops his hellfire and invites his flock to make the decision for Christ, Strube stops describing the Communist devil to ask his listeners if they have heard enough. Do they want to do something about it? What can they do? "Study, study, study," Strube tells them, and, handily enough, he can offer Dr. Schwarz's books at the modest price of \$2.50 for a set of four.

This combining of the techniques of evangelism with those of plain pitchmen is also typical of Dr. Billy James Hargis, whose writings inspired references to the politics of the Protestant clergy in a controversial Air Force manual that was withdrawn from use last year, and who is the leader of the Christian Crusade ("America's largest anti-communist organization"). Dr. Hargis has lately arranged a tie-in between anti-Communism and a restorative product called "Nutri-Bio" which his crusaders may sell along with their message. As one disciple explains it, "The practice of good health habits is of great importance in the fight against Communism."

Naturally, the fight against Communism requires more of its soldiers than good health. Mobilization and organization of a community or part of a community—Houston boasts a "Teens Against Communism" program—with a view to influencing local institutions appears to be the chief aim not only of the John Birch Society but of the other anti-Communist concerns. Their literature abounds in manuals on how to go about organizing a local group. Perhaps past experience has led the Schwarz Crusade to advise in one such manual that members with an "obsession about a particular phase" not be allowed to gain control of the group. The particular "obsession" to be avoided was that of individuals who "believe Communism to be a long-time secret conspiracy of some group of men, religious sect, or race, that have been over thousands of years trying to conquer the world."

While the success the Birch Society has enjoyed in setting up clandestine student groups to act as political vigilantes in the universities is fairly well known and the results of its prodigious letter-writing campaigns have received national attention, the less publicized efforts of the Schwarz group have been equally impressive. Last year the Texas office of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade offered 314 lectures to sixteen thousand students and forty-six thousand adults. Together with other "faculty" members, Vice-President Strube also lectured in many other states. "On the average," he says, "I am speaking three hundred days a year." According to Dr. Schwarz, the Crusade program has been taught in a thousand American high schools. One instruction manual calls for "ten thousand groups of 17 each" and claims that already "over 1,000 groups organized in accordance with this manual in the past two years." Available figures tend to bear out Dr. Schwarz's claims. In 1957, the gross receipts of the Crusade, a tax-free organization, were \$63,000. In 1958 they were \$115,000. By last year they were \$380,000, and Dr. Schwarz predicted recently that he would take in more than \$1,000,000 in 1961.

The Schwarz Crusade has its headquarters in Long Beach, California, and maintains permanent offices in Houston, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Sydney, Australia. These are the command posts that control the flood of literature and the management of the traveling "schools" that are provided for any community or business group or governmental agency willing to underwrite the cost. They also offer complete instructions for organizing permanent community groups to search out and counter Communism in their neighborhoods.

Dr. Schwarz's "faculty" varies with the size and importance of the community. A major stand will feature the top man himself, supported by other "authorities"

on Communism, including an orthopedic surgeon, several former FBI agents, former Communists, a former police chief, and an insurance man. In one major "school" Dr. Schwarz delivered eight lectures. ("Why Millionaires, Ministers of Religion, and College Professors Become Communists" and "How to Debate with Communists and Fellow Travelers" are typical titles.) In addition to his activities with the touring schools, Dr. Schwarz has lectured to the staff of the House Un-American Activities Committee, in the Texas legislature, and at the National War College, as well as on many naval and army bases. Dr. Schwarz, who received his doctorate from Queensland Medical School, is generally billed in his native Australia as one of the foremost experts on Communism in the United States. When he is in the United States, he is frequently referred to as one of the foremost experts on Communism in Australia.

YOU CAN'T LAUGH IT OFF

Any tendency to dismiss the labors of Drs. Schwarz, Benson, and Hargis and Mr. Welch as idle rantings on the lunatic fringe will not survive a realistic appraisal of two factors: their growing influence in the schools and their prestige among certain elements of the armed forces. Dr. Benson's workshop, for example, issues a set of moving pictures for use in junior and senior high schools. In a number of them the narrator is Dr. Clifton L. Ganus, vice-president of Harding College, which is in many ways the intellectual center of all the new right-wing movements. In "A Look at Communism," for grade 12, Dr. Ganus is shown speaking from the National Education Program's headquarters at Harding College as he tells the students that "many thousands of Communists" are in high places in the United States and are influencing the actions of "patriotic Americans." In another film recommended for Grades 8 through 11, Professor Ganus reports that a fifth column is working among Americans to undermine confidence in private ownership.

These materials often get into the schools when a "crusade" strikes a community. In San Diego, for example, a major Schwarz "seminar" (five days) was followed in short order by a "Freedom Forum" under Dr. Benson's leadership and a presentation by Dr. Hargis. The San Diego, La Mesa-Spring Valley, and Chula Vista Elementary School Districts, it was learned, used public funds to have school administrators attend the "seminars," and the National Education Program materials purchased by the San Diego Unified School District for \$4,245.61 have now become a regular part of the public-school educational materials there.

Similar inroads have been made in other school districts across the country, especially in the South and West. In Dallas the superintendent of schools, W. T. White, said that a recent Freedom Forum led by Dr. Benson had helped to "jell" a project that he announced in early December: the Dallas Independent School District would teach a course on "Ways to Fight Communism," using books by J. Edgar Hoover and assorted materials from the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Elsewhere in Texas a group of local businessmen banded together to provide a free lecture series for teachers on their brand of "Americanism" and later offered \$10,000 to school systems that would teach "Americanism" with materials they supplied. Many Texas schools now use such funds and privately subsidized materials. In Illinois the superintendent of Blenbrook High School has said that he ordered "half a dozen scholarships" to make it possible for students to attend a Schwarz "seminar" held at the Glenview Naval Air Station.

Although many of the crusaders regularly attack the usefulness of the national defense program, some of their most ardent support appears to come from high-ranking officers. A number of them regularly attend sessions at Harding College and Drs. Schwarz and Benson frequently lecture at military bases. From these training centers, both military and civilian personnel have then been sent into nearby communities to organize local campaigns.

The evidence suggests that the involvement of the military is not a casual one. *Item:* In Corpus Christi, Texas, a community "alert" was led by Rear Admiral Louis J. Kirn, chief of Naval Air Advanced Training at Corpus Christi. The main speaker at "Citizens Alert Day in Corpus Christi"—as proclaimed by the mayor of the city—was William Strube, vice-president of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

Item: Dr. Schwarz, whose book *You Can Trust the Communists* bears an enthusiastic endorsement by Marshall S. Roth, Major General U.S.A.F., held a Crusade "seminar" at the Eighth Naval District headquarters in New Orleans, where the commandant of the district at that time, Rear Admiral W. G. Schindler, said, "I am delighted to lend my support to this noteworthy seminar."

Item: When Dr. Schwarz held a similar "forum" in Houston, Admiral Schindler's successor, Rear Admiral F. B. Warders, gave the keynote address.

Item: On April 14 and 15 at a "Strategy for Survival Conference" held at Fort Smith, Arkansas, Dr. Ganus of Harding College told an audience of about one thousand, "Your [Congressional] representative in this area has voted eighty-nine percent of the time to aid and abet the Communist Party." Among those who helped to set up the conference was Major General William C. Bullock, head of the XIX Army Reserve Corps area, covering Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Item: On April 15 the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Pittsburgh, with the aid of some of the largest industrial firms in Pennsylvania, sponsored a seminar on "Fourth Dimensional Warfare" which sharply attacked important government policies and urged community action to "identify public officials displaying 'softness' toward Communism." The conference staff acknowledged "the assistance and support" of Lieutenant General Ridgely Gaither, Commanding General, Second United States Army, and his staff; and of Major General Ralph C. Cooper, Commanding General, XXI United States Army Corps, and his staff.

BRINGING THE NEWS TO GLENVIEW

The manner in which these connections with the military can apparently grant a semi-official status to Dr. Schwarz and his forces was illustrated last year in Glenview, Illinois. Last August, leading citizens of Glenview received large envelopes bearing the official U.S. Navy return address and mailed under the franking privilege. Inside were invitations to participate in one of Dr. Schwarz's five-day seminars, to be held in an auditorium on the Glenview Naval Air Station. Navy personnel and their families also received notice of the seminar. "Attendance is not compulsory," it read, "but every man, woman, and student who volunteers participation will acquire the experience, poise, and know-how which we hope will germinate into discussion groups being organized in every community of the midwest."

As a result of complaints lodged by some of the citizens of Glenview, the American Civil Liberties Union drew up a bill of particulars and sent it along with a letter of protest to the then Secretary of the Navy, W. B. Franke. It was not proper, argued A.C.L.U., "for the commanding officer of the base to conduct such a school, for another naval officer to direct it, or for the Navy to attempt to influence public opinion of the general civilian public on moral, spiritual, educational and political issues." In his reply the Secretary conceded that officers of the naval air station "went somewhat further than may have been appropriate" and reported that he had ordered the Glenview Air Station to cease extending official sponsorship of such activities. The Secretary added, "I am sure that you do not consider that information regarding the dangers of the international Communist conspiracy is 'political propaganda' which should not be given to the American people." Two months later, despite the ban, another appearance by Dr. Schwarz at the naval-base auditorium was announced, and the commanding officer, Captain I. M. Hampton, has continued to be a featured speaker for rightist groups.

Naval air stations on the West Coast have been involved in similar activities. In Seattle, Captain Kenneth J. Sanger, commanding officer of the Sands Point Naval Air Station, using such familiar exhibits as *Operation Abolition* and *Communism on the Map*, launched a one-man crusade in local schools, churches, and civic organizations that soon created deep divisions in the community. During the ensuing controversy Captain Sanger received a public letter of commendation and support from Vice Admiral Robert Goldthwaite, Chief of Naval Air Training at Pensacola, Florida, who was himself engaged in helping to organize similar indoctrination courses for civilians in Florida and elsewhere in the Southeast.

The Pensacola effort, called "Project Alert," is a good example of how the combined activities of anti-Communist zealots and the military often succeed in creating a quasi-permanent community agency. According to its own publicity releases, Project Alert, was initiated late in 1959 "with the help of the staff of the Chief of Naval Aviation Training . . . and with the aid of Glenn A. Green and the staff at Harding College's National Education Program." (Mr. Green is vice-president of the N.E.P. and an enthusiastic member of the John Birch Society.) A series of indoctrination programs were created as the first step of a powerful campaign to bring the message into every corner of the city. In the months that followed, thousands of Pensacolans attended project rallies, listened to Project Alert radio and TV broadcasts, read Project Alert literature. A Project Alert library was created of films, tape recordings, books, and pamphlets.

Once the program was firmly established, the school officials and the P.T.A. county president were named to the Project Alert executive committee, which in due course was able to announce: "As evaluated by the school principals' committee, Project Alert materials were judged suitable for students as far down as the fifth grade."

By May of this year, Project Alert had achieved one of its major goals. The Florida legislature, with only one dissenting vote, passed a bill requiring all high schools in the state to teach a course on the evils of Communism. The originator of the bill, Representative George Stallings, Jr., said he would recommend as the basic textbook for the course *The Naked Communist*, by W. Cleo Skousen, former chief of police in Salt Lake City and a prominent member of Dr. Fred Schwarz's traveling "faculty."

The eagerness of certain military figures to participate in the proliferating crusades of the anti-Communist revivalists may in some measure be explained as dutiful obedience to orders. In the summer of 1958 the National Security Council produced a policy paper calling for the mobilization of all government resources and of public opinion at large to oppose Communism. The original paper and most of the follow-up orders from the Defense Department to the armed services calling for implementation of the policy are still classified and will probably remain so, but it is apparent that the new civilian leadership of the Pentagon is taking steps to avoid any possible misunderstandings in the future. An order has gone out forbidding the presentation of *Communism on the Map* and permitting the display of *Operation Abolition* only on request.

The Defense Department will soon release its own film on Communism after a review by historians and State Department officials. Other films produced by the Defense Department will stress the strength and importance of democratic institutions. On May 26, Secretary McNamara took a further step in modifying the earlier policy; at a press conference on problems of public information he stated: "In public discussions all officials of the Department should confine themselves to defense matters. They should particularly avoid discussions of foreign-policy matters, a field which is reserved for the President and the Department of State. This long established principle recognizes the danger that when Defense officials express opinions on foreign policy, their words can be taken as the policy of the government." Presumably this goes not only for Assistant Secretaries but also for generals and admirals.

THE UNBRAINWASHERS

The notion that there is some foolproof "science" for combatting Communism is not confined to military technicians. It seems to have spread among members of Congress too, many of whom would have little use for the quack "science" practiced in the laboratory of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

In February of 1960 and again in 1961, a United States Senate Bill was proposed "to create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy to research and develop an integrated, operational science to win the nonmilitary part of the global struggle between freedom and communism and to train Governmental personnel, private citizens, and foreign students in this science." No one seems quite sure what this "science" may turn out to be, but the bill's sponsors—Senators Mundt, Douglas, Case (New Jersey), Dodd, Smathers, Goldwater, Proxmire, Fong, Butler, Hickenlooper, Miller, and Keating—all seem to agree that it is necessary for our survival: "We must develop a science of counteraction, which enables us to plan rather than to improvise—and we have no such science. We must have trained political warfare cadres—and we have no such cadres now."

In addition to running the new institution of higher learning, the Freedom Commission would conduct research and publish textbooks and other materials, including training films, suitable for high school, college and community level instruction. Senator Dodd, in a speech supporting the bill, said that he "would like to see our colleges and universities send one or more members of their faculty to the Freedom Academy for at least a year, so that on their return they could organize similar courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels. . . . I would like to see history teachers and social science teachers attend two-month summer courses sponsored by the Freedom Academy."

In other words, in addition to training those who must bear the heavy responsibility of fighting Communism where it actually threatens us, the Freedom Academy would provide a massive inoculation against Communism among Americans. To some this emphasis may seem somewhat out of balance, especially considering how uncommon the disease is here at home. Does Senator Dodd mean that

in our schools and our communities the job of guarding against the dangers of Communist—and fascist—infiltration should be taken over and monopolized by graduates of the Freedom Academy? Are we being asked to assume that men and women who do not care to join the Freedom Academy's "political warfare cadres" care less about our freedoms than those who have shown enthusiasm for such a project?

Some of the sponsors of the Freedom Academy bill have made it emphatically clear that threats to our liberties can come from the Right as well as the Left. Before the bill comes to a vote these senators—in fact, all of their colleagues—may conclude that the whole project deserves some very careful second thoughts

APPENDIX II

With their usual display of ingratitude, with which the Reds embarrass those who have tried to play fair with them, or collaborated, the weekly Worker, which went on sale July 21, though dated July 23, ran an article boasting that it had been the source of the press campaign in which, like a wolf pack, attacks were being made on "the insidious alliance between military leaders—active and retired—and rightwing groups in the United States."

The article, which could be the million-and-first lesson for the gullible, follows:

MIDWEST WRITERS CONFIRM MILITARY-RIGHT WING TIES

CHICAGO.—During the past several years The Worker has regularly spotlighted the insidious alliance between military leaders—active and retired—and rightwing groups in the United States. The Worker was the only national newspaper to report on the activities of the Institute for American Strategy and its annual Military-Industrial Conferences.

The Worker also was the only national publication to expose the Glenview Naval Air base "anti-Communist seminar" last September.

In a July 13 dispatch to the St. Louis Post Dispatch, Marquis W. Childs reports a memorandum submitted to the White House and the Defense Department which cites the close alliance between the Right Wing groups and the military.

Activities at the Glenview Naval Air Base in suburban Chicago, speeches by Rear Admiral Chester Ward, ret. (Washington head of the American Security Council) and an Arkansas "seminar" dominated by Harding College of Searcy, Arkansas, a notorious rightwing center of activity, are cited.

On July 13 Thomas B. Ross, writing in the Chicago Sun-Times from Washington, reported:

"The movie (Operation Abolition) was brought to the Pentagon's attention last year by a reserve officer attending a seminar at the nearby National War College under the direction of the Institute for American Strategy, a non-profit group in Chicago.

"The Institute's sponsorship was dropped by the Pentagon for this year's seminar which is now being held under direct control of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

To assure his readers that anti-Communism is not being dropped as a key part of the Pentagon's "educational program" Ross concludes by saying, "the defense department is also now making its own anti-Communist films."

The Institute for American Strategy has been exposed as being an alliance between some of the biggest names in American industry, including some former leaders of the America First Committee, and the military leaders.

Admiral Arleigh Burke, who up to a few weeks ago, was one of the Pentagon's Chiefs of Staff, spoke at the last session of the Institute in Chicago, The Worker reported.

The same issue of the Worker, dated July 21, printed this photograph of articles in the May 14 Worker and the July 12 Drew Pearson column, and boasted in a caption underneath: "You read it first in The Worker."

DREW PEARSON

Birch Aid Toured with Benson

Chicago's **AMERICAN**

EDITORIAL PAGE

STUART LEE, Publisher

Largest Evening Home Delivered
Circulation in Chicago and Suburbs

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1961

Susskind—Do you believe the United Nations is a communist plot and is working to the bad interests of our country?

Anderson—Next to the Communists, I think it is our greatest enemy.

Susskind—Why?

Anderson—I do not believe in co-existence. It is as nonsensical as fried snowballs.

Despite these views, Benson took Anderson with him on two trips in Military Air Transport Services planes which cost the department of agriculture around \$70,000. As an individual flying on commercial lines, the fare would have cost Anderson about \$1,000.

MW 2

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, MAY 14, 1961

Racists, Birch Group Meet in Chicago

Of the Forum. Let them be written off as actions of crackpots, one should keep in mind that one of the main speakers, John Anderson, edits a magazine (Farm and Ranch) with a readership of 1,300,000.

At least 375 newspapers carry his racist rantings in a column called "Straight Talk." Anderson, a member of the top council of the John Birch Society, has two heroes — Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's secretary of agriculture, and Robert Welch.

From Salt Lake City, Mayor J. Bracken Lee, came to the gathering that included racists and anti-semites to proudly an-

Top billing for the three-day meeting held in the Morrison Hotel went to Editor Anderson. Here are some exact quotes from his speech:

"Peaceful co-existence is an immoral fraud."

"I am a segregationist."

"Down in Washington there is Mr. Sam No. 1 (Rayburn) and Mr. Sam No. 2 (Sammy Davis)."

"There is no other country in the world except the U.S. which treats its minorities better, especially Nigras." (Like all chauvinists Anderson can't bear to use the word, Negro, properly pronounced.)

APPENDIX 12

On July 21, the Washington Post ran a dispatch quoting from a memorandum which it said had been prepared by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for its chairman, Senator Fulbright. The article was credited to David Burnham, a United Press International writer.

The dispatch said the memorandum had been made available to UPI the previous day, and quoted from it, including a warning that purported rightwing activities resulting from a National Security Council 1958 directive in the Pentagon might lead to excesses like that of the revolt of the French generals.

The memorandum apparently was referred to in the Marquis Childs column of July 14, also in the Washington Post, and the 1958 directive in the New York Times of June 18, where the press drive to extend the anti-anti-Communist drive to the Pentagon apparently was launched.

The article follows:

STUDY ASSERTS MILITARY RIGHTISTS RAISE OBSTACLES TO KENNEDY PROGRAM

By David Burnham

United Press International

A Senate Foreign Relations Committee memorandum has warned that right-wing propaganda activities by military officers may create "important obstacles" to President Kennedy's programs.

The study, prepared for Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) was made available to United Press International yesterday.

The report said there was "considerable danger" in allowing the military to continue its present involvement in certain types of political campaigns in the United States.

STUDY CITES 11 CASES

The staff study included a list and capsule description of 11 cases of "education and propaganda activities of military personnel" which have been uncovered during the last year.

"These propaganda activities," it said, "may well become important obstacles to public acceptance of the President's program and leadership, if they are not already."

A second congressional committee has launched a behind-the-scenes investigation of the activities mentioned in the Senate report, it was learned.

The memorandum said the nature of the various propaganda activities has varied. "But running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration," it said.

The report said the "thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism."

"Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program . . . under this philosophy would be characterized as steps toward communism," the memorandum continued.

"This view of the Communist menace renders foreign aid, cultural exchanges, disarmament negotiations and other international programs as extremely wasteful if not actually subversive," it said.

The memorandum said that during the long haul of the cold war that "radicalism on the right can be expected to have great mass appeal. It offers the simple solution, easily understood: Scouring of the devils within the body politic, or, in the extreme, lashing out at the enemy."

Staff investigators with the second congressional committee said the recent rash of political propaganda activities apparently stems from a top secret directive issued by the National Security Council in 1958.

Immediately after the directive was sent to the Pentagon, they said, the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued an order directing the services to establish individual cold war programs.

The Senate study called on President Kennedy to reconsider the 1958 National Security Council directive.

It also called for an examination of the relationships between the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy, the Richardson Foundation, the National War College and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

It said this examination should try to determine whether "these relationships do not amount to official support for a viewpoint in variance with that of the Administration."

While admitting that the parallel might seem "far fetched," the report mentioned the revolt of the French generals as "an example of the ultimate danger."

APPENDIX 13

The New York Times returned to the attack on July 21, with another article by Cabell Phillips that started on the first page and continued inside for a column. This declared that "restraints" had been placed on Pentagon officers as the result of the memorandum from Senator Fulbright.

The article follows:

U.S. CURBS OFFICERS IN RIGHT-WING TALKS

(By Cabell Phillips)

WASHINGTON, July 20.—The Defense Department has issued a directive placing restraints on the freedom of military officers to advocate right-wing political theories in official public appearances.

This action resulted from a critical memorandum from Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, to the White House and to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Mr. Fulbright is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The memorandum, written a month ago, came to light today.

It cited a growing pattern of high military officers engaging in or sponsoring a variety of "educational" programs ostensibly designed to familiarize both their troops and the civilian community with the problems and issues of the "cold war." Such programs, it was contended, often veer into "Right-Wing radicalism," which expounds positions that are at variance with established goals and policies of the Government.

Shortly after the receipt of the Fulbright memorandum, and a subsequent conference between the Senator and Mr. McNamara, a directive was issued reinforcing the authority of the assistant secretary for public affairs to provide "policy guidance [for] * * * the conduct of any information programs directed in whole or in part to the general public."

HOUSE PANEL INQUIRY

Another outgrowth of the memorandum, it was learned today, was the decision by the Government Information subcommittee, headed by Representative John E. Moss, Democrat of California, to open its own inquiry into the field. A spokesman for the committee said today that the group has completed a staff study of what he described as "Right-Wing propaganda by the military."

He also said that a field investigator would start on-the-scene studies next week covering a number of Army and Navy installations in this country.

Senator Fulbright refused comment today beyond saying that such a memorandum had been prepared for his use by the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee and that he had transmitted it to the Secretary of Defense.

However, it is known that his concern, as well as that of Representative Moss, is directed exclusively at so-called "extremists" among military officers who utilize the public anxiety over the "cold war" to stir up extravagant fears about the dangers of Communist subversion within the Government and among domestic institutions.

SOME SEMINARS EXCLUDED

They exclude from their concern those "cold war" seminars and institutes that stay clear of partisan political implications.

The twenty-two-page Fulbright memorandum cited a dozen instances in which military officers either participated in, or actively sponsored, a variety of "forums," "seminars," "schools" and "alerts" designed to increase public awareness "of the nature of the Communist menace." It went on:

"The content no doubt has varied from program to program but running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this, or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sell-outs,' 'appeasement,' etc. Radical Right-Wing speakers dominate the programs.

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism. Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of Social Security (particularly medical care under Social Security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy, would be characterized as steps toward communism."

"This view of the Communist menace renders foreign aid, cultural exchanges, disarmament negotiations and other international programs as extremely wasteful, if not actually subversive."

"COLD WAR" DIRECTIVE

The memorandum noted that much of the activity complained of had been justified on the ground that it was in implementation of a "cold war" directive of the National Security Council prepared in 1956.

"The view of the menace of the cold war described above already has a great appeal to the public. If the military is infected with this virus of Right-Wing radicalism, the danger is worthy of attention. If it believes the public is, the danger is enhanced. If, by the process of the military 'educating' the public, the fevers of both groups are raised, the danger is great indeed."

Among the recommendations offered by Senator Fulbright were the following:

That the "cold war" directive be reconsidered.

That the White House and Pentagon cease treating such propaganda activities as isolated disciplinary problems by bringing them under stricter civilian control.

That the role of the National War College in providing instruction on "cold war" problems be reviewed, and particularly the relation to the college of such private groups as the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy and the Richardson Foundation.

The Defense Department directive, which was issued on July 10, falls short of encompassing all these recommendations. In effect, it does no more than reiterate the broad responsibility in the field of education and information of the assistant secretary for public affairs.

But among the special functions it spells out is his authority to provide "guidance" for all informational programs "directed in whole or in part to the general public."

APPENDIX 14

The Baltimore Sun published an article, 1½ columns long; starting on page 1, from its own correspondent, and the two Washington newspapers ran Associated Press articles on July 22, regarding statements by Senators Fulbright and Thurmond concerning the role of Pentagon officers in the anti-Communist training and alertness program.

The Baltimore Sun article follows:

OFFICERS' PUBLIC TALKS DEBATED—FULBRIGHT, THURMOND TILT AS TO RIGHT-WING SLANT

(By Joseph R. L. Sterne)

[Washington Bureau of the Sun]

Washington, July 21.—Two Democratic senators argued in separate press conferences today about the propriety of military officers identifying themselves with right-wing political thinking.

Senator Fulbright (D., Ark.) charged that high-ranking generals and admirals are sponsoring education meetings "heavily weighted" toward the idea that the country is threatened by internal communism and socialistic domestic programs.

Asserting that the military "should be kept as far as possible from this sort of thing," Fulbright confirmed reports that he had sent a criticism of these activities to President Kennedy and Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense.

FULBRIGHT DRAWS REBUKE

Fulbright's action drew a rebuke from Senator Thurmond (D., S.C.), who described it a "dastardly attempt" to muzzle and intimidate American military officers.

"In the Defense Department among the military personnel lies the real bastion of knowledge and understanding of the Communist threat, an understanding and knowledge long since lacking in the White House, the State Department and other agencies of the national Government, if we are to judge by their actions," Thurmond declared.

"If the military teaches the true nature of communism, it must necessarily teach that communism is fundamentally socialism," the South Carolina Senator continued.

"When socialism, in turn, is understood, one cannot help but realize that many of the domestic programs advocated in the United States, and many of those adopted, fall clearly within the category of socialism.

"RIGHTLY TEACHING TRUTH

"Military leaders in this case are rightly teaching the truth, and as is often the case, the truth can and does hurt."

Thus, Thurmond gave his support to the very activities of the military about which Fulbright complained.

In his memorandum, the Arkansas Democrat reportedly warned that the theories of Rightwing radicalism "could create serious obstacles" to the President's program.

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism," said the Fulbright document.

CITES INTERPRETATION

"Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of social security (particularly medical care under social security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy would be characterized as steps toward communism."

Another Fulbright statement that aroused Thurmond's ire was his complaint that military officers are blaming international difficulties on the "appeasement" and "sell-out" policies of the Government.

"I hope the charge is correct," said Thurmond, a reserve major general, "for it refortifies my belief that our military officers do understand the threat from communism, and are giving their personnel the truth."

The Fulbright-Thurmond controversy centered on the implementation of a 1956 National Security Council directive urging military officers to instruct their troops and the public on cold-war issues.

SAYS THEY SPONSORED THEM

Fulbright contended that on the basis of this directive certain military officers had sponsored meetings in which Rightwing civilian organizations took a major part.

He said such organizations had a perfect right to press their views, but held that they should not do so "under the auspices of generals and admirals."

The Arkansas Senator said much of the political philosophy expounded at these meetings was reminiscent of a decade ago when the nation was concerned with Communist infiltration, particularly in the schools.

As a result of the Fulbright memorandum, the House Government Information Subcommittee is making an investigation and Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, has been directed to give "policy guidance" on the conduct of military educational programs.

The Associated Press article that follows is taken from the Washington Star, which gave it much more space than its morning com-

patriot, which focused on Senator Fulbright with a headline: "Fulbright Scores Brass on 'Extremist' Talks."

The article:

FULBRIGHT, THURMOND CLASH ON SPEECH MEMO

By the Associated Press

Two Democratic Senators are at odds over a confidential memorandum from one of them to the Defense Department.

Principals in the case are Senators Fulbright of Arkansas and Thurmond of South Carolina.

Senator Fulbright said yesterday that he had sent the memo to Secretary of Defense McNamara objecting to military sponsorship of meetings featuring "extremist speeches" by outsiders.

"The point I wanted to make," Senator Fulbright said, "was that it is not the traditional role of the military to sponsor meetings weighted to one side of a political subject."

Senator Thurmond, at a news conference following Senator Fulbright's remarks, denounced the memorandum as "a dastardly attempt to intimidate the commanders of United States armed forces."

Senator Fulbright said the principal theme of some meetings sponsored by generals and admirals has been "that the greatest danger to this country is internal communism, and that communism has infiltrated our schools and our churches and dominates our Government."

RESTRICTIONS FOLLOWED

Senator Thurmond, a major general in the Army reserves, termed the memo an effort to prevent United States commanders from teaching their troops "the nature of the menace of world communism."

The memorandum was followed by new Defense Department restrictions on top military men, instructing them to stick to military matters in their public speeches.

Senator Thurmond said: "In the Defense Department among military personnel lies the real bastion of knowledge and understanding of the Communist threat, an understanding and knowledge long since lacking in the White House, the State Department and other agencies of the national Government, if we are to judge by their actions."

"Suppression of the military's dissemination of this knowledge would be disastrous."

Senator Fulbright said the memo was prepared for his personal use by the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which he is chairman, but was in no sense a committee document.

He said he sent copies to President Kennedy as well as to Mr. McNamara and believed "someone at the Pentagon" had leaked its contents.

When reporters asked for a copy, Senator Fulbright said he did not know where they could get one "unless you get it from the Defense Department—they apparently have duplicating facilities."

Senator Thurmond said he was relieved to learn that the Foreign Relations Committee had not joined "in this damaging action." Senator Thurmond is a member of the Armed Services Committee, but not of Senator Fulbright's group.

Senator Fulbright said he took the position that extremist speakers and societies have a right to say what they like but that "the whole point of this memorandum is that the military should not be the sponsor or lend its prestige to such meetings."

HAS NO QUARREL

He said he had no quarrel with military officers instructing their own personnel on the menace of communism but added:

"It is traditional that the military is not the agency that instructs the American people."

Senator Thurmond said he felt many United States policies smack of appeasement. He mentioned the continued suspension of nuclear weapons testing, lack of adequate power behind the Cuban invasion, and talk of recognizing Outer Mongolia.

Asked if he would term Senator Fulbright an appeaser, Senator Thurmond said he had no comment on individuals or personalities.

"If what I say affects anybody," he added, "it is just too bad."

APPENDIX 15

The New York Times on July 24 ran an editorial indicating that "rightwing" Pentagon officers were casting doubt on the value of American rearmament, declaring the Communist menace was in the United States, not abroad.

This was a new tack in the anti-anti-Communist level. There has been no supporting evidence—indeed the contrary. Military officers, the same as civilian observers, stressed the universality of the Red menace, pointing out that a Communist is just as much an enemy wherever he locates, and must be spotted wherever he operates, in or out of the United States.

Here is the editorial:

OFFICERS AND POLITICS

After some prodding by Senator J. W. Fulbright, the Defense Department has issued a sensible directive curbing the freedom of military officers to advocate Right Wing political theories in official public appearances. The available evidence suggests that only a small number of officers have been guilty of such indiscretion, but even a tiny breach of the American tradition that the military does not mix in politics is too much.

It is nonsense to argue, as has Senator Strom Thurmond, that the effect of the order is to prevent military commanders from teaching their troops "the nature of the menace of world communism." As Senator Fulbright's memorandum points out more accurately, the problem has arisen because some officers have adopted the Right Wing radical technique of "equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism." Given such a weird assumption, it is no great step to jump to the conclusion that the social welfare program of the Kennedy Administration is somehow "Communist" and "subversive." It is the propagation of this kind of extremist fantasy by a few officers on active duty and acting in their official capacities which needs to be stopped.

The functions of our armed forces is to protect this nation from foreign enemies. It is to counter the menace of Soviet rockets, jet planes and hydrogen bombs that we have spent such enormous sums on our armed forces and their equipment these past years. But the thesis of the Right Wing radicals is that the real menace is internal, and that infiltration of Communists into our governmental and other institutions is the danger which must be combated. What makes the present problem so baffling is that this kind of flight from reality would logically imply that we have been wasting money by our expenditures on the armed forces, and instead we should be transferring billions of dollars to agencies to fight internal subversion. We don't believe even a small number of responsible military officers accept such transparent foolishness.

APPENDIX 16

The Nation Magazine, in its July 26 issue, ran a three-page article from the west coast, entitled "New Right in Action." It was written in the now familiar roundup manner, categorizing the entire anti-Communist movement in the United States as extreme rightist, and purporting to expose it.

The article, as a number had done, pointed out the big impact of the anti-Communist movement. Much of the material, obviously as scarce material, would only appear so to persons already conditioned into believing there is something essentially wrong in teaching people how to avoid Communist propaganda traps, and the evil and danger in communism. Otherwise, what is written in these articles, to the dismay of their authors, if they realize it, probably had the opposite effect on many readers, creating a favorable instead of an unfavorable

response. Average Americans, even readers of self-styled "liberal" publications, are good citizens, as anxious as any others that their liberties be maintained and protected.

This Nation article, as the one in The Reporter of July 20 (see Appendix 10), boasted that orders to softpedal or suppress the anti-Communist program had come from highest circles in Washington. The Nation said: "... objections were being raised in high places to this sort of political activity on the part of the military. Both President Kennedy and the Defense Department had made it plain that statements of policy coming from the military must henceforth be cleared by higher civilian authority." The Reporter article declared: "... it is apparent that the new civilian leadership of the Pentagon is taking steps to avoid any possible misunderstandings in the future."

The administration's position was obviously being interpreted as opposing the program that came out of the Korean war, to train and alert our people to recognize Communist traps and to know how to preserve their mental and physical stamina under Red pressures. Just who was spreading this impression and the rumors was unrevealed.

The Nation's article was written by a husband and wife team, Alex Gottfried, described as "a political scientist at the University of Washington," and Sue Davidson, "a member of the American Friends Service Committee and of the ACLU."

The article follows:

NEW RIGHT IN ACTION

By Alex Gottfried and Sue Davidson

It was not until January of this year, with the ubiquitous appearance of that profitable box-office double feature, *Operation Abolition* and *Communism on the Map*, that rightwing activities in the Northwest reached proportions sufficient to alert and alarm liberals in this area. Unpublicized signs and portents, however, had appeared much earlier.

During 1960, Captain Kenneth J. Sanger, commandant of the Sand Point Naval Air Station, began to extend his Navy "leadership training program" to include programs on "Americanism" and "anti-communism" for Seattle junior and senior high school students. Sanger also maintains a volunteer speakers' bureau of Navy men, to lecture on "good citizenship" to civilian groups; it has presented a total of 233 talks in less than a year. Last fall, a group whose leadership has ties with the national organization, "We the People," began a campaign to introduce the Navy's "citizenship" program into the suburban schools. They prevailed upon the principal of the Bellevue High School to call a meeting of some fifty suburban principals and heads of social studies departments, to hear Captain Sanger speak on the Communist menace, and to view *Abolition* and *Map*.

One of the teachers who attended this meeting wrote to Senator Henry M. Jackson, questioning the appropriateness of the military's invasion of this area of civilian life. Shortly thereafter, Captain Sanger complained to the suburban principals about the teacher's letter. The teacher was told by his principal that his teaching effectiveness had been diminished by communication with his Senator and, further, by his "identification" with the American Civil Liberties Union—consisting of a two-dollar associate membership.

The two films, in the meantime, had begun circulating quietly and efficiently to a great number of church groups, PTAs, service clubs, schools and military installations. They were shown repeatedly to personnel at the Boeing Airplane Company. Most progressive leaders here, however, had their first opportunity to view *Abolition* at the Washington State ACLU's annual meeting of December 15. The film was accompanied by a critique by one of the student leaders of the San Francisco demonstrations, of which it purports to be a documentary account.

Local distribution of the film was popularly attributed to Boeing, Puget Sound Power and Light, and the Missionary Film Service, a private distributor of

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The Nation

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fundamentalist films, hitherto not associated with political materials. At the ACLU meeting, a representative of Boeing admitted the firm's active participation, as well as his own role, in the promotion of the film; defended it; and disclaimed any knowledge of distortions or inaccuracies in *Abolition*. Boeing executives were to persist in this attitude during the coming months, even in the face of earnest protests by a few prominent, highly-respected local citizens, Republican as well as Democrat. By February 26, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, Boeing possessed six copies of *Abolition*, had shown it two hundred times, and was booked solid for showings until May. The Boeing management's expressed confidence in the accuracy of the film was somewhat compromised by its reluctance to allow showings under circumstances where it might be criticized: when a member of a Friends' young adult group requested use of the film, he was informed by a Boeing security officer that "we don't care to cooperate with people like you."

It was Professor Giovanni Costigan, of the University of Washington History Department, who uncloaked the twisted message of the filmstrip, *Communism on the Map*. On January 24, he arranged a showing to a large faculty group. A statement about the film, prepared by Dr. Costigan, expressed shock at the filmstrip's "irresponsible mingling of fact and falsehood" and its "gross distortion of historical events." Ninety-two faculty members signed the statement; and statement and signatures were released to the local press, which printed the item a good deal later. 124/61

A few days after the faculty screening, the Young Democrats of the University of Washington showed *Map*, soliciting comment from Professor Costigan, as well as from R. W. Burgess of the Missionary Film Service. More than 2,000 students, jammed themselves into the auditorium, there to laugh uproariously at the patent idiocies of the film, and warmly applaud Professor Costigan's critical comment.

And now the storm broke, with acrimonious, state-wide debate, and a great public choosing up of sides. The Boeing management and local Naval officers admitted to the Seattle press that they had been distributors of *Map*. Representative Thomas M. Pelly (R), a supporter of the House Un-American Activities Committee, warmly approved the Navy's indoctrination of civilians. The *Northeast Progress*, organ of the Seattle Catholic diocese, championed the films; and Father Thomas L. O'Brien of Seattle University emerged as a local spokesman for the right wing. Also highly popular as a spokesman for HUAC and the films was Mrs. Virginia Shukelford of Tacoma, who some months later revealed herself as a member of the John Birch Society. Fundamentalist churches, reservists, chambers of commerce and other business groups, service clubs, the King County Labor Council, certain unions and PTA's voiced approval of the films and, variously, support of the Navy, of the FBI, of HUAC. Professor Costigan, "left-wing University professors," and the ACLU were damned, scourged and, occasionally, libeled.

These attacks were met. Very early, nine leading Protestant ministers in Seattle—including a Methodist Bishop and the executive minister of the Greater Seattle Council of Churches—denounced both *Abolition* and *Map*. Their statement was followed by similar ones from directors of student religious groups in the university community, by on-campus student organizations, by various Democratic clubs, and others.

Neither Seattle daily took an editorial position on this debate, but it was quite clear from the type of coverage where their sympathies lay. When the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, for example, at last released the statement of the 92 faculty members, it was printed next to a column in support of the film—written by the paper's aviation reporter, who has the Boeing beat. Most of the other newspapers throughout the state, dailies and weeklies, followed this lead. The University of Washington *Daily* gave broad coverage to the liberal position and published editorials in support of it; Stan Stapp of the *Greenwood Aurora Outlook* provided, in his weekly column, the only other local journalistic recognition of the libertarian viewpoint.

It was inevitable that repercussions should be felt in the state legislature. The greatest spate of McCarthyite legislation since the heyday of McCarthy himself was now introduced, by Democrats as well as Republicans. There was a resolution praising the films and making a legislative finding that they were excellent teaching materials. There was a resolution of glowing commendation for the work of HUAC. Another proposal called for the creation of an "American Heritage Foundation," to be charged with indoctrinating the people of the State of Washington on the evils of communism and the fundamentals of Americanism. Ultimately these, and several other bills of the same tendency, were defeated, but not without the greatest difficulty. They were stopped by the combination

of a handful of able legislators—mainly, Representatives Norman Ackley and Daniel Brink, and Senator Wilber G. Hallaur—and the skillful activities of many liberal committee staff members, coordinated by the Washington ACLU's executive secretary.

The rising tide of anti-Communist fervor has given birth in the Northwest to numerous new programs and organizations on the Right. Introduced in February was a frankly extremist organization calling itself "A Group of People, Inc." Apparently at no loss for funds, GOPI celebrated something it calls "Loyalty Day" by opening a library to supply anti-Communist literature to the public. Another group is Greater America, Inc. Calling itself a national organization, and carrying on its list of board members some nationally prominent figures, among them Erwin D. Canham and James A. Linen, it is none the less largely a Boeing creation. Although it has made some effort to keep its anti-communism respectable, its pilot study group attracted, almost exclusively, adherents of the John Birch stripe. A tie-up between the military, politicians, industrial and business leadership, conservatives and extreme right-wingers is also evident in the recently founded Seattle American Leadership Council. Captain Sanger is credited with a central role in inspiring and organizing the Council, it features as co-chairmen Seattle Mayor Gordon Clinton, the senior vice president of Boeing, and the secretary of the King County Labor Council. Its speakers' bureau is entrusted to Father O'Brien.

Captain Sanger has continued to be in great demand in the area—even with liberals who have repeatedly tried in vain to get him to accept a public debate. But it began to be evident that objections were being raised in high places to this sort of political activity on the part of the military. Both President Kennedy and the Defense Department had made it plain that statements of policy coming from the military must henceforth be cleared by higher civilian authority. Moreover, early in March the Navy canceled scheduled showings of *Map*. When Representative Pelly protested the cancellations, the Navy replied apologetically that its supply of the film could not meet the growing demand and that furthermore it was unable to work out "transportation problems" from Sand Point. To add to the confusion, a Sand Point commander on the same day denied that the Navy had ever shown the film to any but "our own people." Sanger himself was later to make the same denial, more than once.

There now began what may be called "The Canonization of Captain Sanger." Representative Pelly made a laudatory speech about him in the House. His praises were repeatedly sung in the metropolitan dailies, sometimes in the form of testimonials from organizations and individuals, sometimes in feature stories. Misrepresenting criticism of the Captain as due to his "vigorous opposition to communism," the newspapers pictured him as a hero behaving with immense courage under formidable fire.

In the midst of this fevered defense of the local military hero, the John Birch story broke nationally. The metropolitan newspapers at first attempted to ignore it. But as the story grew throughout the country, the *Post-Intelligencer* and the *Times* were constrained to pick it up. Both ran exposés of the John Birch Society, in a series of lengthy articles. The *PI* and the *Times* began at this point to show signs of acute schizophrenia. On the very day that the *PI* ran its first article on the John Birch Society, there appeared on the same page an editorial headed "A Naval Officer's Duty," lauding Captain Sanger for his Americanism campaign. In another editorial, the *PI* thanked Senator Dodd for his demand that the Birch Society be investigated, but could not refrain from the Goldwater-like regret that "some of our finest citizens, with the highest motives," had been attracted to the society. The fine citizens and organizations which have plugged *Map* here still enjoy the best relationships with the press, nor has the press ever chided them or Captain Sanger about the identification between the film and the Birch Society.

Nevertheless, the newspapers' articles on the society, as they identified local Birch leaders, did offer some key to earlier rightwing phenomena in Washington State. The individuals named were also prominent in other rightwing groups in the area which had been at work in ways and with goals similar to those outlined in Welch's *Blue Book*. American Legionnaire Lawrence Timbers, author of a widely circulated smear sheet on Professor Costigan, is a John Birchier, as are Mrs. Shakelford and one P. C. Beezley. In addition to being Washington State "organizer" and "coordinator" for the Birch Society, Beezley is on the national board of "We the People," along with Mrs. Shakelford. All three of the aforementioned are members of the board of the Committee for Economic Freedom, Mrs. Shakelford is also an organizer for the Constitution Party. Shakelford, Beezley and Timbers have been the chief instruments in a number of "study

clubs" which devote themselves chiefly to attacks on the public schools in this area. Also a member of the "study clubs" and the local Birch Society is Tom Hutton, an associate of Gerald L. K. Smith in the Christian Nationalist Crusade. No theory of conspiracy is offered here as an explanation of the political climate of Washington over the past few months. The multiple connections of individuals of similar extreme views do, however, reflect Birch Society doctrine, and can be seen in numerous related activities.

Perhaps the best illustration of the tendencies of these interconnected groups and individuals has been their attacks upon the public schools, especially those of Kent, which Mrs. Shakelford and her fellows have harassed for more than a year. The guidance program was attacked as brainwashing; teaching methods and texts were assailed; it was charged that children were indoctrinated with un-American tenets emanating from Columbia University, the goal of which was to teach the youth to live in a Communist world. The Kent school board and the superintendent have so far successfully resisted these assaults; unfortunately, their courage has not been consistently matched by other Washington school boards and superintendents.

Nor has the exposure of the Birch Society inhibited the attacks upon free discussion and inquiry in the public schools: less than two weeks after the local stories on the society appeared, another such foray was reported in the newspapers. At Foster High, on the outskirts of Seattle, two teachers, in full cooperation with their principal, had worked up a study unit on the issues troubling the community. They included for discussion such relevant materials as *Map* and the Roosevelt-McNeely debate on HUAC. The superintendent of schools received a single letter and a few telephone calls criticizing the teachers and the principal for the presentation of this unit. This was sufficient to start an imbroglio in which the teachers' and the principal's activities were debated at a school board meeting before 250 persons, and they were subjected to hours of private executive inquiry into their political and social attitudes and activities.

A new program for Seattle's public schools further reflects the political climate here. Billed as the "American Heritage" program, it is not to consist in courses, but is intended to imbue the entire curriculum with a set of attitudes. Five- and six-year olds are to be instructed in the meaning of the pledge of allegiance. Instruction in communism's perils and pitfalls will begin in the fifth grade, with awareness of the Red threat presumably dominating studies from there on.

Although some Washington liberals feel that the exposure of the John Birch Society has gone far to reduce extremist pressure from the Right, a glance at the record, present and retrospective, does not offer such firm comfort. One can begin by assessing the Washington liberals themselves. It is true that as individuals they show a great gain in courage and outspokenness over the McCarthy period; this is particularly striking in the case of religious leaders and of the academic community, faculty as well as students. Yet the willingness of individuals to identify with a liberal position has never translated itself into any practical, organized program of action. The ACLU of Washington, best equipped in terms of will, skill and experience, will not enter into areas where no civil-liberties infringement is involved. On the other hand, an organization such as the American Friends Service Committee has only a fraction of energies and funds to devote to civil-liberties issues, acute as may be its interest in them. The Democratic Party organs and the church groups which took verbal stands against the right-wingers are analogously restricted and restrained. Moreover, the groups which took such fragmentary action as they could, did not in this period of near-hysteria enjoy any spectacular increase in members, in member willingness to take individual responsibility, or in funds. It is not surprising, therefore, that the independent organization which was finally created to act in a concerted way—the so-called Committee for an Open Society, Inc.—never got off the ground. In short, there has not been a massive response to a massive challenge.

And there is little on the local balance sheet to suggest that the dimensions of the challenge have been affected by indignation over the Birch Society. Those who decry the Birchers' smearing of Eisenhower make no connection between this and the assaults on local intellectuals. In the midst of revulsion against Mr. Welch, it is the public schools which are being attacked, not the industrialists and military men who have carried Welch's ideas, via *Communism on the Map*, to so many inhabitants of the state. The reputations of Boeing and Puget Sound Power and Light not only remain undamaged, they have not even been challenged; while the imminent departure of Captain Sanger to another station has brought a new flurry of testimonials and fresh demands for his services as a public speaker.

APPENDIX 17

Never, since the most virulent days of Goebbels' "hate" propaganda, has anything appeared in the United States comparable to a 47-page booklet, dated June 1961, put out by the Communist Party of the United States in connection with its drive to smother the expanding anti-Communist movement in this country.

The 35-cent booklet is entitled "The Fascist Revival," and purports to tell "the inside story of the John Birch Society." The author is Mike Newberry, another Worker specialist in unbridled smear.

The booklet is evidence of the degree to which the Communist Party considers itself immune from libel, through a complex legal barrier it has built around itself, and by exploitation of the double standard. Communists have created an atmosphere in which those victimized by its lies feel it is futile to seek recompense.

The virulent tone of the booklet, with all stops out in vituperative propaganda, indicates that the Communist Party would like to create a new, Pavlovian trigger word for this period in its psychological warfare, and believes "Birchite" might be put into the language this way, replacing "McCarthyite." The impact of the latter fabricated word apparently no longer is strong enough to meet Red needs. Communist deeds have deprived it of its effectiveness in Red "psywar."

The Communists now seek to create a scare word. This would evoke a conditioned response in a background of fear, founded on the specter of a Fascist plot inside the United States, which would attack all minorities, and spread terror to everyone. This Red propaganda objective is a terror maneuver. It would be what they call the "correct" line for this time, to make the American public jittery through pressure from abroad, by manufactured crises in places such as Berlin and Laos, and by pressure at home through visions of a "Fascist revival." A jittery United States would be off-balance and vulnerable.

This is the "psywar" aim of the present Red propaganda drive, in which the Communist Party in the United States is working hand-in-hand with the Red network headquartered in Moscow.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: August 25, 1961

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: ~~SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE~~
 "THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE
 ANTICOMMUNIST PROGRAM - 7/11/61"

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Callahan ☐
 Conrad ☐
 DeLoach ☐
 Evans ☐
 Malone ☐
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☐
 Trotter ☐
 Tele. Room ☐
 Ingram ☐
 Gandy ☐

Reference is made to my memorandum captioned as above dated August 23, 1961, which attached an advance copy of the printed hearing entitled "The New Drive Against the Anticommunist Program - 7/11/61."

This is to advise we have now received from the Committee a copy of a proposed press release to be issued Sunday, August 27, 1961, in connection with this printed hearing. This hearing concerns the testimony of Edward Hunter, a psychological warfare expert, who told the committee in closed-session that the growth of a grassroots anticommunist movement across the United States has resulted in a Moscow-initiated campaign to squelch the movement. The release of this testimony follows the demand of Senator Olin Johnston (D-S. C.), a member of the Subcommittee, that it be made public as soon as possible.

Also attached is a bound copy of the printed hearing to be released August 27, 1961.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

Enclosures

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan (w/enclosures - 7)
- 1 - Mr. Condon (w/enclosures - 7)
- 1 - [redacted] (w/enclosure)
- 1 - [redacted] (w/enclosures - 3)

CDD:ejr

(7)

50 SEP 14 1961

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED
 5 ENCLOSURE

118-4047-27

14 SEP 6 1961

REC-20

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FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, AUGUST 27, 1961

FROM THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, D. C.--Growth of a grassroots anti-communist movement across the United States has resulted in a Moscow-initiated campaign to squelch the movement, a psychological warfare expert told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in closed-session testimony released today.

The release of this testimony follows the demand of Senator Olin Johnston (D-S. C.), a member of the Subcommittee, that it be made public as soon as possible.

This action was unanimously approved by the Subcommittee.

Edward Hunter, the author who introduced the term "brainwashing" into the English language and who served in the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, said that "whereas the grassroots movement was a spontaneous local development in most areas, there is nothing spontaneous nor local about the drive to crush it; it is an organized psychological warfare operation that has all the markings of staff planning."

The new Communist campaign, which Hunter refers to as "a Red anti-anti-Communist drive," was set in motion, Hunter says, "under orders issued to the Communist forces of the world, especially to those in the United States, through the Red Manifesto of December 5, 1960. The Manifesto was made public at the conclusion of the strategy conference of 81 Communist parties of the world, including our treasonable own, that met in Moscow all last November."

When Hunter testified on July 11, he predicted that the Communist Party, U.S.A., would come out openly with the "anti-anti-Communist" drive.

Just three days later the weekly Worker fulfilled Hunter's prophecy by

(more)

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by publishing a directive from Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., outlining implementation for the Red Manifesto. Text of the directive is printed in an appendix to the hearing.

Hunter said that a "quick Red operation is being attempted, like that of a sleight-of-hand artist, to push this administration, the press, and the public into a trap that would eliminate the anti-Communist program."

"A new 'psywar' line that constitutes very clever propaganda is being pushed," Hunter said. "The argument is simply that Communism is no danger here in the United States, that it's abroad where the danger lies. They want us to stop paying attention to Communist activities here in America, to drop the alertness and training programs that would enable our public and our troops to avoid Red traps, and to recognize the face of Communism, so that we won't repeat the disastrous scandals of North Korean prisoner-of-war camps, and of Captain Powers of the U-2."

Hunter said that "anti-anti-Communism, since the appearance of the Manifesto, has come out into the open, taking the offensive, as anyone acquainted with Red tactics should have been able to predict. . . All the well-known tactics employed by the Reds in their pressure campaigns are more and more being brought to bear. Such Red campaigns start with smears and character assassination and go on to vicious rumor-mongering and the employment of the 'big drive' technique, in which all forms of public pressures are focused on the target, from petitions and demonstrations to blackmail and corruption."

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ENCLOSURE

47-27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*DATE: August 30, 1961 *WCS*FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*SUBJECT: SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
"THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE
ANTICOMMUNIST PROGRAM - 7-11-61"

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

Memorandum C. D. DeLoach to Mr. Mohr 8-25-61 enclosed copy of the printed hearing entitled "The New Drive Against the Anticommunist Program - 7-11-61." Also enclosed was copy of a proposed press release in connection with this printed hearing. *sej*

The hearing concerns the testimony of Edward Hunter, a writer, lecturer and psychological warfare expert who told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that the growth of a grass-roots anticommunist movement across the United States has resulted in a Moscow-initiated campaign to squelch the movement. The new communist campaign was set in motion, Hunter says, "under orders issued to the communist forces of the world; especially to those in the United States, through the Red Manifesto of 12-5-60." This Manifesto was made public in Moscow, Russia, at the conclusion of the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers Parties of the world. Hunter apparently refers to the following passages in the Manifesto to back up his statement:

"....conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

"To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism -- that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism...."

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - [redacted]

EX - 107

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50 SEP 11 1961

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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE
"THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE
ANTICOMMUNIST PROGRAM - 7-11-61"

To prove that the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), is following the dictates of the Kremlin in this "anti-anticommunist" movement, Hunter points to the article prepared by Party General Secretary Gus Hall which appeared in the 7-16-61 issue of "The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, entitled "The Ultra-Right, Kennedy, and Role of the Progressives." This article attacks those "ultra-right" individuals and groups that oppose communism; the anticommunists.

OBSERVATIONS:

This tactic by the Party -- an "anti-anticommunist" movement -- is not new. It has been part of communist strategy for years and will continue to be used as a weapon by Communist Parties throughout the world as long as individuals and groups remain free to expose the sinister aims of communism. We are not aware of any specific instructions sent out by Moscow to the CPUSA for the Party to engage in an "anti-anticommunist" campaign. Hunter apparently does not have such information but relies on the published Moscow Manifesto for his conclusions.

ACTION:

For your information.

F
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B
8/10

THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE ANTI- COMMUNIST PROGRAM

HOLD FOR RELEASE

SUN AUG 27 1961

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JULY 11, 1961

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1961

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 NORRIS COTTON, New Hampshire
 SAM J. ERVIN, Jr., North Carolina

J. G. SOURWINE, Counsel
 BENJAMIN MANDEL, Director of Research

RESOLUTION

Resolved by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the injunction of secrecy be removed from testimony given by Edward Hunter in executive session beginning at 4 p.m. on July 11, 1961; be it further

Resolved, That said testimony be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, Chairman.
 THOMAS J. DODD, Vice Chairman.
 OLIN D. JOHNSTON.
 JOHN L. MCCLELLAN.
 SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.
 ROMAN L. HRUSKA.
 EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.
 KENNETH B. KEATING.
 NORRIS COTTON.

Dated August 18, 1961.

THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PROGRAM

TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1961

U.S. SENATE, SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee convened at 2 p.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Norris Cotton presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel of the subcommittee; Benjamin Mandel, research director; Frank Schroeder, chief investigator, and Ralph W. Horton, associate counsel.

Senator COTTON. Will you raise your right hand, please. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HUNTER. I do.
 Senator COTTON. Give the reporter your name and address.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD HUNTER

Mr. HUNTER. I am Edward Hunter. My address is 64 Webster Avenue, Port Washington, N.Y.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are the author of a number of books, are you not?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, a number of books.

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote "Brainwashing in Red China"?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, and the more recent "Brainwashing: From Pavlov to Powers."

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote "The Story of Mary Liu"?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. "The Black Book on Red China," too.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you have also written an influential contemporary book on Afghanistan?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. I spent a whole year in Afghanistan and wrote a book, "The Past Present," which had the effect of emancipating the women of Afghanistan by persuading the royal family to allow Afghan women to appear in public with unveiled, "naked" faces.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have had a great deal of experience in psychological warfare, have you not?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, over many years.

Mr. SOURWINE. This has been one of your specialties.

Mr. HUNTER. Since I was thrown into this field as a young reporter, 40 or so years ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. In this connection, you have worked with agencies of the U.S. Government?

Mr. HUNTER. A number of different agencies.

Senator COTTON. I must answer a quorum call. We will stand in recess for a brief period.

The subcommittee resumed at 4 p.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Norris Cotton, presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel of the subcommittee; Benjamin Mandel, research director, and Frank Schroeder, chief investigator, and Ralph W. Horton, minority counsel.

Senator COTTON. This hearing is being reopened as a regular executive session, to provide opportunity for Mr. Edward Hunter to elaborate on a point he touched upon only briefly during his testimony in May; namely, the new counterdrive in the United States against anti-Communist alertness and training programs.

Mr. Hunter, you have already been sworn.

Mr. SOURWINE. We are informed, and have on the record, your very extensive background in psychological warfare generally, and the war against the mind specifically. We know of the research and the books you pioneered in this field. Have you given any particular attention to the subject of this phase of our hearing, as Senator Cotton has stated it?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; indeed. I made extensive trips throughout the United States during the past couple of years, after my return from Afghanistan, for purposes of research, writing, and lecturing. This put me in close touch with the local situation in each community as regards communism. I watched an actual grassroots movement develop. With this background, I have lately been noticing a new, highly coordinated drive go into high gear to tear this anti-Communist movement up by the roots and destroy it. Whereas the grassroots movement was a spontaneous local development in most areas, there is nothing spontaneous nor local about the drive to crush it; it is an organized psychological warfare operation that had all the markings of staff planning.

Mr. SOURWINE. We hope you will go into detail on these matters. So that we may have a general idea of where these details fit in, could you begin by summarizing the present stage in this fight?

Mr. HUNTER. A quick, Red operation is being attempted, like that of a sleight-of-hand artist, to push this administration, the press, and public into a trap that would eliminate the anti-Communist program in the United States. We should know by now that this is the way Red strategy operates, as it did in the concluding period of World War II. When communism has an opponent's attention diverted, or has him confused or reeling, the Reds push forward as fast as they can in their psychological warfare, grabbing all the advantage and booty they can. They are using this time-tried method of theirs against the Kennedy administration in its first year. They have carefully analyzed its conciliatory or goodwill traits as vulnerabilities, and are exploiting them as much as they can. Those traits, as you must know, are held with contempt in Communist teachings—their dialectical materialism—regarded as sentimentalism, a crime in Communist society. Sentimentalism is considered a bourgeois contradiction to Marxist objectivism.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do they have any special plan or ruse by which they hope to achieve this purpose?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; very much so. A new "psywar" line that constitutes very clever propaganda is being pushed. The argument is simply that communism is no danger here in the United States, that it's abroad where the danger lies. They want us to stop paying attention to Communist activities here in America, to drop the alertness and training programs that would enable our public and our troops to avoid Red traps, and to recognize the face of communism, so that we won't repeat the disastrous scandals of North Korean prisoner-of-war camps, and of Captain Powers of the U-2. This isn't really a new line, any more than coexistence was when it was taken out of the Red "bag of tricks" for use again. But it's now their major line, and the major danger to us. If the Reds can put it across—and they've already achieved some great successes with it—we will have disarmed ourselves in the realm of mind warfare—the war for the mind—right here at home. Our submersion into communism would inevitably follow, unless we were able to awaken from the trance in time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where do we stand now in this fight?

Mr. HUNTER. When we look at it from the overall point of view, we see a race taking place. It is a race between those trying to give the American people the knowledge they require of the weapons and the tactics employed in the so-called cold war, and those seeking to deprive them of this vital information. This is the part of the Red disarmament drive that is being waged in the field of mind warfare, what might best be called mind attack, a military label for brainwashing. What we are discussing now falls into the scope of the softening-up process, one of the two processes in brainwashing, the other being indoctrination. Softening up is disarmament in the cold war. Exactly as the Red objective in weapons disarmament—as evidenced by their one-sided demands—is to deprive us of the hardware for defense and attack, while leaving themselves loopholes to avoid such deprivation, their objective in cold war disarmament is our moral softening up, depriving us of the means of spotting Red traps and Communist intrigue, and sapping our will to do anything about it, while leaving communism no such handicap to conspiracy and subversion.

A growing grassroots movement has developed in the United States against communism—one which constitutes a powerful anti-Communist movement. This evolved in spite of anti-anti-Communist maneuvers—against anticommunism—that have been going on for some years in our country, utilizing mainly Red fronts and hush-hush methods, as well as economic pressure against those who are frankly anti-Communist. This subtle, comparatively concealed anti-anti-communism has now been merged into what can best be called a Red anti-anti-Communist drive, that was openly initiated, under orders issued to the Communist forces of the world, especially to those in the United States, through the Red manifesto of December 5, 1960. The manifesto was made public at the conclusion of the strategy conference of 81 Communist parties of the world, including our treasonable own, that met in Moscow all last November. The race is what the Reds call "struggle," and is for keeps. "Struggle" in the

Communist lexicon can include all forms of conflict, from smiles and leaflets to hand grenades and nuclear fission, according to opportunity and need. The protagonists are the growing anti-Communist movement in the United States and the Red anti-anti-Communist drive. The Reds are seeking to put this over as a quick operation, catching us off balance, to crush the entire anti-Communist movement in our country.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by an anti-Communist movement in the United States, and by your references to a grassroots movement?

Mr. HUNTER. This can only be understood against the backdrop of the Communist position generally on matters concerning inquiry by non-Communists and anti-Communists—by anyone—into what the Reds consider their own business, their "psywar" operations to weaken, conquer, and take over other countries, especially the United States, so as to complete their conquest of the world. They have always demanded that inquiry of any kind into Red manipulation should be forbidden. They have called it undemocratic, a reactionary or fascist activity, and illegal. All these words have their own, separate meaning in the Communist dictionary. They also insist, from the same Red point of view, that all such inquiry is "unfriendly" and "hostile," and are using "rightist" and "extreme rightist" as sneer words against anti-Communist teachings generally. The new conservative surge in the United States has been accompanied by anti-Communist efforts, mainly along educational lines, to spread information about the real nature of communism. The Reds equate this new conservatism with anticommunism, and equate this with fascism. This lumping together of opponents of every description—mild or tough—branding them with some predominantly objectionable label, is an old Red tactic. It produces some of the more obvious of the patent falsehoods that come out of Red logic, called dialectical materialism, and reaches such perversions of Socratic thinking as the teaching that war is peace, black is white, and opposition to communism is illegal, whereas pro-Communist activity is perfectly legal. The former may be as timid as you like, it is called McCarthyism by the Reds; the latter may be as unprincipled as hades, it is still regarded by them as irreproachable. Here we have the actual meaning of the term "McCarthyism" in dialectical materialism, and it has nothing whatsoever to do with the manner by which communism is opposed, it is a matter of so-called principle—Red principle.

We can understand much more about Communist procedure, which otherwise seems so incomprehensible, if we keep this difference in approach in mind, as well as the strategy that communism pursues to prevent frontal attack on specific Red tactics and evils, or their disclosure, by bunching all the opposition with whatever can be found that might be branded "off balance" and "haywire," and calling the whole thing right extremist—meaning to us anti-Semitic, racist and Fascist, irrespective of how far-fetched these accusations are to the particular cases under discussion. By insisting, as they actually did in the prisoner of war camps in North Korea, that any inquiry into communism shows "a hostile attitude" and an unconciliatory spirit, they have consistently obtained invaluable concessions without giving up anything in return, everywhere from the questioning of a prisoner to the grilling of a diplomat. We're going through this process all over again, it seems.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do they seem to get away with it all the time?

Mr. HUNTER. By calculated, minutely planned staff work, and by the utilization in particular of the double standard.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by "the double standard"?

Mr. HUNTER. This is basic in Communist strategy. Enforcement of the double standard leaves the door open for the Communists to make headway. Otherwise, their aggressive and conspiratorial methods would be seen through, and once this happened they could not survive. The anti-anti-Communist drive is a vivid example of the double standard in practice. The Reds for years have had phenomenal success in suppressing criticism of communism that was in any way specific, and therefore effective. The poor Republic of China suffered tragically from this. Books extolling the Chinese Reds as agrarian reformers and Chinese "New Dealers"—not at all real Communists—were the only ones reviewed favorably in the United States, often the only ones reviewed at all, and were given best seller treatment, with a publicity buildup that ultimately made them bestsellers. The participation of writers and political analysts in pro-Red Chinese propaganda became extremely lucrative, and they were given additional easy income from fat lecture contracts. All this was laid on for those who held the line in the right direction, from the Communist standpoint that is, toward the extreme left. Anti-Communists were excluded. They just weren't given a look-in. It happened with such consistency that it cannot be considered a coincidence. We now know that this was manipulated by the Reds themselves. They benefited politically, in psychological warfare, from what constituted a monopoly, or a squeeze play. This embraced the film and drama and took over our communications channels generally. Yet all this time it was considered perfectly proper for the Communists to lambast their foes without the least consideration for truth. Any attempt to stop them was at once branded as interference with free speech and civil rights, and cynically, as a threat to the free enterprise system.

When this monopoly of theirs was finally exposed, the Reds howled suppression. The double standard to them is not a clever maneuver that they have gotten away with all this time: they consider it their right.

We must understand this if we are not to be bewildered each time we come up against it. From the other aspect, that of Communist ideology, it is something "proper" and "right" in their terminology. The double standard is part of dialectical materialism—built into it. The Reds, as a matter of ideology, do not grant their enemies the same privileges they claim for themselves. They claim the advantages of the double standard in our society, as in their own, as a right. It hasn't anything to do with what we call a liberal approach. It isn't being liberal to recognize this travesty of thought as logical, unless we are willing to go right ahead, too, and recognize that peace is war and white is black. This, incidentally, was the mental state into which our prisoners of war were edged in the Red brainwashing camps in North Korea. What is hard to realize is that this is exactly the state of mind the Reds seek to impose in close quarters in any negotiation.

Under the double standard, Communists can be anti-United States, but we are not to be allowed to be anti-Communist. Anti-anti-

communism is simply the enforcement of this piece of Red logic, that is really a piece of lack logic. But it has been perpetrated for years. The Reds at no time are willing to accept fair play, or a give-and-take situation in the press, any more than in a summit negotiation with President Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower or, now, Kennedy. It makes no difference whom. They are now insisting upon a return to what they claim as this right of theirs, the monopoly of our press and book facilities for pro-Communist arguments, and their exclusion to anti-Communists. They're making headway, too, in the same channels that lay low for a while.

The Red insistence on the double standard has reached its peak with the Communist claim to ample and complete—de facto exclusive—facilities with which to destroy us. They are specifically demanding complete elimination of anti-Communist programs from our schools and in the military, and from public meetings. This is the culmination of anti-anti-Communism. If we are buried in accordance with the decree of that specialist in genocide, Nikita Khrushchev, it should be memorialized on our collectivized tombstone by the words: "Here Lies a Nation—Martyr to the Double Standard; Americans Could Never Learn."

There is a semantic gimmick that usually greases the mechanism for the upside-down Red thinking that is sometimes called double-think. This is anti-Communist bias. Americans are justifiably opposed to bias. Opposition expressed to communism is labeled "anti-Communist bias" by the Reds, and at once we are supposed to avoid it. The simple objective is to eliminate free inquiry into Red machinations in our midst. But we are not supposed to refer to a pro-Communist bias, for to do so is, to them, "McCarthyism." This is the double standard. We are pressed not to engage in anti-communism, but if we don't, we leave the field open to the pro-Communists by default. That is the trap.

One of the most glaring examples of the double standard is in Red racism. The Reds use the term "racial liberation wars" in the native languages of Asia and Africa, and make no bones about it being a war against the white man, specifically the Western white man. So-called liberals who fall into the trap of equating defense of freedom with racism, following the Red line, never raise a voice against the obvious racism engaged in by Communists.¹

Somehow, if we're going to have a double standard, I would prefer we use it to our own advantage once in a while, and without any concealment about it, either. Is there anything wrong in favoring our own side, if we do so aboveboard, and honorably? One of the main reasons we are having setbacks around the world, losing respect, is that we have become known for not helping our friends, and for letting them down, while we help our enemies, trying to make ourselves popular with them, as if this were the way any person or nation can truly become popular.

The double standard is now in operation in many sectors of our society, if we would only look. The double standard is the main tactic in the perennial drive to put Red China into the United Nations and to give it American recognition. In our communications channels—from television to our daily papers—we constantly come across remarks favorable to the Red Chinese on this issue. This is considered being objective. However, when did you last hear anyone on tele-

¹ Cf. "The Soviet Empire, Prison House of Nations and Races," a study by the Internal Security Subcommittee, available at many libraries.

vision, for instance, casually remark that it was inevitable that freedom be restored to the Chinese people? Such statements are called controversial and discouraged or even suppressed. They're only controversial, however, when they're anti-Communist. This is the double standard in operation. Mao Tse-tung was whitewashed by its use. The same tactic is now being employed on his behalf once more, and by mostly the same people. We seem to accept past errors as the best recommendation for trust in this through-the-looking-glass world. What seems unforgivable is to have been right all along about communism.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said something about planned staff work by the Communists, presumably in reference to their activities in our country. Will you elaborate on this, please?

Mr. HUNTER. During the war, we had a clandestine propaganda warfare section in the Office of Strategic Services. I was part of it. These were, for the most part, experimental stations, with little implementation done. Theater commanders knew nothing about this approach, and next to nothing about psychological warfare, and had no time to find out, with a war going on, and certainly no patience for it. Psychological warfare of this clandestine nature had been part and parcel of Communist attack from the start, filling a major role in their conduct of war. The British did not draw a strict line between what we called white and black—between the overt or open, and the covert or clandestine. They put it all through much the same mill. When the war ended for us, the United States disbanded this section. The war didn't end for the U.S.S.R., though. We had ample knowledge of this, but mada believe it wasn't so. Only one phase of it had closed for them: that requiring new weapons to be given the main emphasis. The Soviet Union kept its psychological planning bureaus operating as always, for Moscow had an entirely different conception of war than we. The Reds simply changed targets, and began aiming their psychological warfare guns at us, now that the Nazi target had been punched full of holes. We always had been an enemy, too, in their book, to be temporarily used and then destroyed—the traditional class warfare tactic. Significantly, we now are hearing of class conflict between nations—between poor and rich countries—now that class warfare has been exposed as utterly meaningless inside any modern, free nation. Coexistence, to the Reds, is merely the shift of class warfare from the domestic to the world stage, from so-called classes of people inside a country to entire nations. Indeed, the Red manifesto of December 5, 1960, says:

The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

Throughout the manifesto, the Red hierarchy equates socialism with communism, as different phases of the same movement.

The Red hierarchy began its shift of targets even before the end of the shooting war in Europe. We replaced the old target for them to such an extent that international communism has been referring to us as Fascists and Nazis. The Reds change or retain labels irrespective of contents, wholly in accordance with the impression they seek to convey.

Unavoidably, we were pushed into seeking a defense against this psychological warfare offensive against us, that our State Department and the White House well knew about, but kept secret from the

American public which had a right to know, being the most critically concerned. Defense against intensified Red assault forced Washington to set up an operational arm in Central Intelligence Agency, which reinstated the clandestine section of OSS. Old OSS records had been cavalierly dealt with, even destroyed, especially those that could have been used as guidance, which could have helped us learn from old mistakes. CIA had to start at the beginning once more, as if we had never had this OSS experience. There was a deliberateness about this diversion and loss of documentation that goes beyond carelessness and slipshod methods.

What is relevant in this situation is that it just doesn't make sense to say that the Reds would abandon their "psywar" operations against the one country they consider their primary foe—the United States—whose free existence makes their world conquest impossible. Of course they have a psychological warfare planning section, specifically given the responsibility of operations within the United States. We are naive, to be sure, but we wouldn't be naive—we'd be criminally stupid—to insist otherwise. Yet on such life-and-death factors, we sometimes seem to be the latter.

The pattern is too plain, its details stand out too conspicuously for me not to recognize them. What is as sure as anything I have ever known in this "psywar" field is that the Moscow-Peking-through-Havana Axis maintains a clandestine warfare planning and operational section directly dealing with the United States, and has had it at work certainly since the end of World War II. The pattern is too obvious. Whether it is located on American soil, in Washington, or technically on foreign soil, in the United Nations, or in Canada, or Mexico, may be argued. I feel it utilizes the Communist Party of the United States in a subordinate position, to provide informational and implementation facilities rather than for policymaking. I doubt whether the Kremlin regards the American Communists as sufficiently "reliable"—this word has special meaning in Communist language—to be entrusted with such knowledge. The FBI presumably has it too effectively tapped. Foreign Reds on our soil, directly under Moscow's orders, do the programming. They determine tactics dealing with day-to-day tasks. The operational headquarters might even be in Cuba. Remember, the present Soviet Ambassador to Cuba was, at the time of the Gouzenko disclosures, the Red spy chief in the Soviet Embassy in Canada whose espionage ring robbed us of our atomic secrets, under the protection of a hush-hush by the American authorities on Red spy activities. This hush-hush seems one of the few points on which the U.S. Government can be said to have a policy.

Lesser loyalties—to political party, profession, or office colleagues—were allowed then to take precedence over higher loyalties and responses. This mentality was epitomized by such attitudes as "Why stick your neck out?" "What's in it for me?" and "The customer is always right." They replaced our old maxims of morality. The Australian cynicism, "I couldn't care less," became worldwide. All this fertilized our soil for subversion and treason. We have not yet rid ourselves of those noxious and poisonous weeds. Of this, I am convinced by the pattern I have seen forming.

Mr. SOURWINE. Perhaps you could go into some detail regarding this that you call a pattern.

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. It will require an extended explanation, though.

One date should be kept in mind as a starting point for the new phase in "psywar," the new Red anti-anti-Communist drive, to differentiate it from the Red-manipulated, covert anti-anti-communism we had heretofore. The former is outright Red-managed, part of disclosed policy of the Communist hierarchy, and immensely more aggressive. Something new has been added to the old, and it is direct action—demonstrations and riots, unbridled smears in the traditional Red manner, and what in practice amounts to an overt manipulation of non-Communist and even anti-Communist personalities and groups, in and out of government, for a basic Red objective, the liquidation of the growing anti-Communist grassroots movement in the United States. The popular movement to which I refer is a healthy, public reaction against the character-sapping official policy of setting standards by a fluctuating popularity poll. Actually, that's a degraded form of dialectical materialism, which also rejects eternal values as principles common to human experience down the ages.

This overt operation is a reflection of Khrushchev's frequently uttered contempt for the United States. He is basing his war against us on the premise that we have been sufficiently softened-up to be unreachable by patriotism or loyalty, what I have referred to as mental survival stamens, and that we are sure to be a pushover, needing a mere concluding coup de grace perhaps, without appreciable danger of retaliation in any effective manner. This, gentlemen, is the psychological basis on which the Reds are working, and they consider themselves objective and practical.

They surely know, in Moscow, those on whom they can depend to do their dirty work here in the United States, especially in Government and communications circles in Washington and New York. Of this much we can be sure: They have a strategy for our defeat—our burial, as Khrushchev euphemistically terms it. Realization of this in Government as well as by the public could be the stimulation to awaken us from our corrupting trance. That way we could exploit Red strategy against themselves, and save ourselves.

We have made believe that this Red contempt doesn't exist by hushing up on it. I stress it here because it is one of those factors that are integral portions of psychological warfare—the cold war. The extent of truth in it, whether really false, is irrelevant. "Psywar" proceeds on what minds can be induced to accept, not on what actually exists, or on accuracy based on Judeo-Christian standards. The Communist conspirators deal primarily with influences, as levers and weapons. The best expression of his attitude was provided by Khrushchev himself in his inimitable, boorish manner, when he described Americans to satellite and other foreign correspondents in Moscow as people whom: "You spit in their face and they call it dew." Could anything be more insulting? Instead of responding, we have ignored the insult. This quotation is obtainable in the Moscow-published material which we receive as part of our cultural exchange program with the Reds, in return for the so-called objective material we send them, in which we tell them about our blemishes. Of course, cultural exchange on this basis is satisfactory to Moscow. This one-sidedness is what they insist on as a "cooperative attitude," on a take it or leave it basis. We are taking it.

The anchor point is this date of December 5, 1960, when the Red manifesto was adopted in Moscow. This set the new, expanded Red

policy. For the first time, the world Communist network, in a basic policy and operational document, specifically referred to the anti-Communist movement in the United States, recognizing that it had reached proportions large enough to constitute a main—if not the main—danger to Communist progress in our country, outlining tactics to combat it, so as to regain the virtually unobstructed field it had once occupied in its American operations.

While the anti-anti-Communists, with fake liberals as their working media in the communications field, were telling each other, and being widely quoted in the Pavlovian manner of the conditioned reflex, about the ineffectiveness and hopelessness of the anti-Communist movement in America, the Red psychological warfare staff in our land was not allowing itself to be diverted by such balderdash. It well knew who pulled the strings in this belittlement of anti-communism, and it knew who were the ventriloquists in this softening-up and defeatist propaganda. The tightly organized, keenly observant group that runs Red "psywar" in the United States was surely observing the anti-Communist movement in a professional, objective manner. This Red operational group, made up of persons with diplomatic entree in Washington and at the United Nations, with perhaps some few vassals from the Communist Party of the United States, watched the anti-Communist movement grow in grassroots manner, and fast, and saw it reach sizable proportions without benefit of publicity, in the face of discouragement from official sources in Washington and a hush-hush in the press.

The new, coordinated, aggressive Red anti-anti-Communist drive was launched by the Red manifesto. Until then, anti-anti-communism had been conducted mainly as a hush-hush operation in the manner of the "united front," enlisting the help of any person or organization, no matter whether non-Communist or even anti-Communist, so long as he aids and abets the Communist objective of strangling anti-communism at birth, wherever it showed up.

Anti-anti-communism was interpreted to mean opposition to anti-communism, on the assumption that the latter is an obstacle to negotiations with Soviet Russia, and is contrary to "peaceful coexistence." Coexistence was suddenly taken from Red ideology and publicized as if a product of American thinking, making it less unpalatable to our people. It was a cliché in Communist language and tactics, a device for weakening and confusing, for setting up the victim—ourselves—for the kill.

Anti-Communists in political, educational, literary, clerical, and other spheres of American society were boxed in and squeezed out, quietly, one by one. This was the hush-hush strategy. However, it did not fully work, thanks to the American people themselves, and a few isolated segments in Government, who were persistently harassed and kept busy battling for their own survival. Even if they couldn't be "liquidated," their efforts could be held to a minimum.

The conference of Communist parties of the world, holding strategy meetings in Moscow over a period of 6 weeks or more last year, came forth with this manifesto that laid down the new, or rather the intensified strategy for war against the free world, principally the United States, inside the framework of what the Reds mean in Communist language by the word "struggle."

We must not let out of our minds the fact that "struggle" in dialectical materialism embraces all forms of conflict which have a

common objective, whether hot or cold, including military destruction among other means of winning, considering everything and anything as a weapon if it can help weaken a foe and bring about his surrender to the Reds. This is its rendering in a society based on Pavlovianism, which creates conditioned reflexes by signals and symbols, relegating men to the status of a dog.

The manifesto ordered a frontal attack upon the anti-Communist movement, for the first time recognized as a fundamental obstacle to Red aims. This made hush of the line taken until then, that had downgraded anticommunism as futile, not worthy of mention, which ridiculed it by such artifices as saying it really helped the Reds—the "Wasn't McCarthy a Red agent himself?" sort of heavy joke. The manifesto made plain that anticommunism had to be combated by a major counteroffensive.

The role of anti-anti-communism in the United States, as it existed until then, was to employ diffusion, confusion, and hush-hush to leave the "psywar" field, by default, open to pro-Reds alone. Whether done knowingly, or as a Pavlovian reflex, it was all the same to the Reds.

Surely by no wise can this Red manifesto be honestly described other than as a strategy for the defeat of the United States and its absorption into the Communist empire. Yet organs of anti-anti-communism, such as the New York Times, in heavyweight, comatose gibberish, brushed it off as a moderate document, as merely a compromise between Soviet Russia and Red China, in what they had played up as a virtual split between them, hence not putting any new heat on the United States. This was a dangerous distortion of the facts, and yet our leading prestige papers retailed it, brushing off the document. This, too, is part of the pattern to which I'm referring. These things don't just happen in a "psywar" world. They are brought about by calculation, planned this way by "leaks" and string pulling.

Such operations require a new sort of agent, on which the Kremlin places its main trust nowadays. While we continue looking exclusively for the old-style cloak-and-dagger man, who buys or steals secrets to pass along to his headquarters, Red emphasis has been put on a rationalized, new-type agent, without neglecting the old, of course. We are still focusing on the old, as we were in World War II. Then, along with the British, we were putting the low men on our totem pole, who had slight if any useful data anyway, under rigorous and penalizing security checks. Moscow simply acquired agents who mingled with the new, intellectual elite at the top on terms of equality, were sometimes members of it themselves. They infiltrated the White House and other topmost Government offices. These were gentlemen all. Gentlemen talked frankly between themselves in comradely manner. Secrets were much easier to steal this way, and immensely more reliable. We might cringe at the idea that Red agents, bought and paid for by the enemy, had entree and became members of the White House entourage, but we can brush it out of our minds only at our own peril. As such things happened, they can happen again. Making believe they never did would make sure of it. But they would happen in the new form, while we would be looking for the old, as usual.

The new-style, pro-Red agent has his role to influence policy, stalling or frustrating it, making it fail or end up by hurting ourselves.

Need any more be done to wreak the destruction of a nation, no matter how many billions it pours out in defense and foreign aid? This is an integral portion of the pattern I'm speaking about, the heart of it, the main gears in the pattern for failure that we have now devised as a built-in mechanism in our Government, with coordinated ramifications in the prestige press, in educational circles, and in whatever other professions the enemy considers worth penetrating.

If we doubt that the Reds infiltrate these honored professions, let us think for a moment of how it has been fundamental Red technique to do so in every nation which it has already subverted, or is seeking to subvert abroad, and then let us ask ourselves if it is possible this is not being done in the one nation in the world which Moscow regards as its main target. Or course, it is being done here. Suppression of inquiry into communism is one way of lulling ourselves into thinking we've solved the problem of the Red agent. We can seem to get along better with Moscow this way. We aren't accused of being "antisocial." Where basic principles and survival are at stake, we'd better be very willing to be as "antisocial" as need be, and come to realize that this whole "antisocial" gambit of a popularity race is a part of the diffusion mechanism in the cold war.

These new ditty agents need not—usually must not—give evidence of pro-Red bias. They operate best when they work as anti-Communist perfectionists, insisting that we make sure that every project devised to hurt the enemy is 100 percent certain to succeed, and that it won't be approved until it is perfect. This approach is enough to strangle most good projects at birth. If this doesn't work, and a project cannot be stopped, there can be some clause inserted which makes it operationally useless to our own side, or even helpful to the enemy. I include in this our late, ill-fated and betrayed Cuban expedition. I've already referred to such instances at a previous session.

Nothing is ever perfect, of course, and anything and everything can be interpreted to its own defeat. This is one of the most effective tactics in our pattern for failure. The problem of Red manipulation and espionage has become more complex, exactly as our precision instruments, but we must go on to solve it, with the realization uppermost in our minds that the fundamental law of the land is its survival as a free and viable nation, and that this law is higher than any other, inviolable—except at the price of a futile and unforgivable death. The kindest thing a rewritten history could do for any American who had helped bring about our defeat would be to not mention him, to make him an unperson.

This is the background against which I'm analyzing this Red manifesto. It inferentially recognizes that under the hush-hush of anti-anti-Communist pressures, a grassroots movement against communism had nonetheless developed in American society. I watched it grow. As yet, it is composed for the most part of local groups and, even neighborhood folk who come together out of a natural sense of there being something raw put over on our country on behalf of communism.

These local groups have even yet little or no contact with each other, and get little or no normal publicity. They range over the board in other respects, from left to right, from labor to management. Of course, as in any big, growing organization, some crackpots can be found.

In this atmosphere, some national organizations have formed, and various groups have been organized, that arrange seminars on communism, and give courses on communism in various cities and communities. Some collaboration was achieved for it from the official American training program that came out of our degrading experience in the prisoner-of-war camps of North Korea. After all, the American people were told, by Presidential directive, to enlist home, school, and church in a drive to help restore those submerged or displaced elements in our good character, as part of the national training program of the military, on which our survival would certainly depend. Our North Korean experiences showed our youth to have been the butt of softening-up pressures subtly incorporated into our own society, weakening and corrupting his fiber. In the past, the teaching of physical survival stamina was sufficient. The home, clergy, and schools could be depended on to provide the morality. This wasn't true any more. Mental survival stamina had now to be specifically taught. We are given no alternative except surrender.

The anti-Communist sentiment of the public, generally, was still being effectively blocked by the hush-hush imposed by the anti-anti-Communists. This gave the anti-Communists the feeling of being boxed in and isolated, being all alone. It led to frustration, creating a sense of hopelessness and bitterness. Creeping defeatism was brought into our midst during this time, and soon started changing form from an enemy tactic to a social characteristic. This is propaganda climate.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean exactly by propaganda climate? Mr. HUNTER. Propaganda climate is one of the most effective techniques of the Red cold war, especially applicable to anticommunism. I can tell a roomful of men, for instance, to put on, or take off, their coats, and they'll laugh at me. I can go outside and quietly raise or lower the thermostat, and in a few minutes, they'll begin removing or putting on their coats without me saying a word. This, in propaganda, is what I mean by creating a climate. Once achieved, what otherwise would be recognized as treason, as the *Amerasia* case during World War II, seems otherwise to ordinarily intelligent people, and they justify this by calling it sophistication, or applying some other high-sounding label that gives them special privileges as, say, intellectuals.

One of the many ramifications of anti-anti-communism is in our personnel selection and personnel screening. The squeezing out of personnel motivated in an anti-Communist direction, and the screening in of so-called anti-anti-Communists, has been one of the long-range activities of the Red mechanism through the years, at which it has had marked success. Much of this success comes from the creation of a propaganda climate favorable to this attitude.

Obviously, the more the anti-Communist issue becomes confused and smeared as controversial, and the more the impression spreads that those in positions of power, who must be depended upon for advancement, want anticommunism softpedaled, and anti-Communists boycotted, the greater will the Red success be in implementing this personnel policy, in and out of government.

Propaganda climate has had the effect of eliminating from consideration for jobs in the cold war practically all—there are a few, notable exceptions—who have records of accuracy and steadfastness

in this field. This propaganda climate more and more broadened beyond the mere word-of-mouth stage to drastic economic pressures and cruel social pressures, which lately have included even overt discussion of the sanity of persons who are anti-Communist generally, soberly referring to this as if it were something to be taken for granted in the mental health field. This has spread out, too, into fields which have anti-Communist implications, as in our national defense. Participants in organizations for a so-called sane policy allude to the insanity of their opponents.

The double standard, it is plain to see, is of great encouragement to pro-Reds and discouragement to anti-Reds. A Hiss can be sure of a good-paying job; the person branded anti-Communist is eliminated from consideration. He is treated as if there were something criminal about anticommunism, as if it were the same, only the opposite extreme, of pro-Red espionage. This upside-down situation has developed in such a one-sided, disadvantageous manner to the anti-Communist that he must be particularly strong-willed, if not bull-headed, in order to survive, unless he has an income of his own, possibly inherited—or a pension. The new Red anti-anti-Communist drive is hitting particularly at those who have a pension for their support.

The trait of inflexible will that an anti-Communist requires for economic survival then is thrown against him as fanaticism, therefore dangerous thinking, in the so-called liberal lexicon. Certain words have come to apply especially to the anti-Communist, such as "controversial." This exploits a basic vulnerability of American business, to please the customer—"the customer is always right." Extended into politics or diplomacy, this could become the means for our destruction, for in spite of the aid program, the people we deal with abroad are not "always right." They can be willing conspirators against us, if they feel it of advantage to their own country. This is a particular advantage that the Reds are exploiting in their so-called aid program, and in their propaganda about the assumed "inevitability" of their victory. The bandwagon reflex is an unconditional one, not like our popularity race, an artificiality or conditioned reflex.

This is the propaganda climate for softening us up. To be effective, it must operate in the manner called "voluntary" in Communist language, meaning induced, enforced, operating as a conditioned reflex, unthinkingly—the Pavlovian way.

We must not know about this strategy, for it to work. So the pattern for failure, at taxpayers' expense, has the concealment of brainwashing and Pavlov as one of its tactics. Just before coming here, I was given one product of this thinking, a book called "Coercive Persuasion." Here a little group of soft-minded psychiatrists and sociologists, who all along have been seeking to hush up this subject, admittedly without firsthand knowledge, admittedly basing their findings on a selected, very small segment of persons who had been put under mind attack, came forth with the predictable conclusion that brainwashing didn't exist in the POW camps in North Korea, that Pavlov had nothing to do with it, that our men who were exploited against us in a treasonable manner in those Red camps were merely presented with better arguments.

This book should be put on the same shelf as "Strategic Surrender," a U.S. Government-financed book. It was the first time in history

any nation paid to have a book written on how to surrender. The preparatory, appeasement word we hear more and more—getting us used to it nowadays on such matters as Red China—is "inevitability." That's the sleazy word brought forth by those who lack the courage to admit they are urging us to give in to blackmail. "Better Red than dead" is their slogan, and it emanates from closed minds in scholarly circles, such as Lord Bertrand Russell's.

This appeasement and surrender library, financed by our own Government, directly or indirectly, and by foundations, is growing steadily and stealthily. It constitutes the reading matter for the pattern of failure. The nuclear fission field is a prime target. Each step leads to another sophisticated argument for capitulation in one way or another. First we must sit back philosophically to accept the brunt of the first blow. Then, because we will have been so disastrously shattered, so-called massive retaliation presumably can't win for us, anyway. Retaliation—actually resistance—then would be merely a form of revenge, according to this thinking—beneath the dignity of so high-minded and socially conscious a people as the Americans. So we should forego even retaliation. These are not vapors of my imagination; they're to be found (in more sophisticated language, I admit) in the publications of Government-financed or foundation-supported publications and programs. They're part of the pattern for failure. It works out as a pattern for self-destruction, or suicide.

The anti-Communist movement, pounded by all these pressures, might well have found it simply impossible to reach any meaningful proportions if it weren't for our experience in the Korean prisoner-of-war brainwashing camps, and the resultant program instituted during President Eisenhower's administration, with a code set up for the first time for captured Americans, and a directive for the restoration of character through concerted effort in all strata of our society.

This helped to compensate for the hush-hush in the anti-anti-Communist press, and even for the smears accompanying it. This restored enough of the balance and gave persons of anti-Communist motivation the hope and proof that they weren't alone, that they had friends. Members of our Reserve Forces, who certainly had every right to express themselves as civilians, became the connecting link, and often provided the know-how. They participated in seminars and discussions and went to lectures, by their mere presence constituting a great morale incentive. At times, as is customary in our democratic society, persons still in uniform were invited to come and give talks, providing further know-how for the public.

The grassroots movement spread. Old-fashioned character was its theme. Anticommunism was its immediate expression. The code for captured military personnel, the report to the Secretary of Defense by a special board set up to survey the subject generally, and President Eisenhower's proclamation that went along with it, gave this a perfectly legal base. Why a legal base was needed for a perfectly natural and normal approach in a free society is beyond me, but apparently, under our double standard, what is excluded is only anticommunism.

The program as officially enunciated by our Commander in Chief was to train and alert our people in the tactics used by Communists. The Reds couldn't get around this effectively, and so the grassroots movement began to flourish.

The program to train and alert our youth, hence our public, could be sabotaged, though, and so it was from the start. I told about it in a recent book, "Brainwashing: From Pavlov to Powers." This is an expanded edition of an earlier book. In a chapter that I added at the end, entitled "Now It's Our Turn," I told of the sense of great achievement that the adoption of the program for character building gave to American officers. I met one of them some time later. Here is how I describe the experience:

In contrast to his previous exuberance, he was now downcast as we walked along a Virginia street. "I can't put my fingers on it, but it was as if nothing had happened," he said. "As if it were a dream. Once the documents were signed and proclaimed, they were filed away, and that was the end of them. I never thought it possible. The program that was to restore American stamina and teach our forces to understand the wiles of communism had been sabotaged. I am terribly fearful of our future."

Education about communism was harassed until it became vague and meaningless. The withdrawal of the Air Center Training Manual early in 1960 is an instance of how this operated. The charges in the manual were undoubtedly true, it was admitted. Congressmen were told that the training "must not include the specific." We teach that generalities must not be trusted. With generalities and the specific both excluded, the only recourse was to drop the subject, leaving the field to the Communists by default.

The policy of being all things to all men and making popularity the objective of policy, took precedence over the teaching of mental stamina and character. Referring later in the book to the case of Captain Powers, captured by the Reds, I said:

He might have stepped forth from a prisoner-of-war camp in North Korea back in 1953, for all the knowledge he showed of the ways and wiles of the Communists. The intervening years had been brushed away, as if we had learned nothing from this dreary experience. Our new code and its accompanying documents had only lulled the American public's anxieties, not providing the internal reforms promised.

The reception given this book, too, was lush-hush, as if to prove its point.

What has become quite evident by now is that our people are far ahead of the Government in realization of the Red danger, and desire to do something positive about it. The people's voice, however, was muffled, misinterpreted, and lied about. So-called social engineering became the order of the day. An engineering job is now being attempted on the public mind, conditioning it to the same sophistries that had proven disastrous to our foreign policy in the years since we ended the war. Then we were more powerful than any nation in history. We were coercively persuaded to forego or betray the responsibility that went with this power.

But the seed sown by many lone workers and groups in the anti-Communist vineyard had not fallen on barren soil, as they had been told, but had grown. As the Communist network now saw, it was being harvested as our grassroots, anti-Communist movement. Hence the Red manifesto's expanded anti-anti-Communist drive.

The primary target, as it is developing, is the Pentagon, specifically the program to train and alert our troops and our people to the Red techniques, and the inherent evil in communism. The Reds have seen that this program, and the directives issued to implement it, in spite of sabotage, do make the big difference. Unless this program can be destroyed, the anti-Communist movement cannot be liquidated.

So the forces are joined between enforcement of the Red manifesto and the implementation of the training program that came out of the Korean war.

The experience of recently retired Lt. Col. Gunther Hartel, who knows Nazi and Communist tactics from rubbing up against them in Germany and Austria as an intelligence chief, and who later experienced Red cold war at its boiling point in Vietnam, alone could bear out much of these findings. He learned the hard way.

He recently retired from the military, and as a civilian, went into a New York City organization created by public-spirited men in private life, called American Strategy, Inc. Here, he felt, was an opportunity to share his knowledge of the totalitarian menace—he equates the Nazis with the Communists, as interchangeable—and help alert our public to the facts of life in cold war.

Remember, about this expression "cold war," the Reds put their emphasis on the word "war," understanding that "cold" is merely an adjective, indicating a temporary war tactic, while we put our stress on the adjective, "cold," lulling ourselves to the coexistence lullaby of the Reds.

The termites in the woodwork soon began to detect this new effort in which Colonel Hartel was a participant, and started boring away in accordance with the anti-anti-Communist pattern.

The smear began in the New York Post on May 25, in an editorial which for compactness and technique deserves whatever is the equivalent of a Pulitzer Prize for the expertly executed in propagandized misinformation. All the derogatory trigger words were brought in. Why? What possibly could be the real motive?

Colonel Hartel, nonetheless, is kept busy giving talks on Communist tactics throughout greater New York. His experience is much the same as I came upon elsewhere. Suburban newspapers, and of course the public generally, are anxious to obtain all the facts they can, and to help as much as they can. Not so in the major cities, though. In New York, there was the same anti-anti-Communist press blackout, except for smear material. "Anywhere outside the big city, we get terrific publicity," he told me. In New York City, such ventures get practically nothing, or smears. From my personal experience, I can say that public feeling is misrepresented, not mirrored, by this anti-anti-Communist maneuver.

Gradually, even in small towns, obviously prepared attacks now are beginning. They are still the exception, but nonetheless constitute an effort to duplicate, on a smaller canvas, what is the prevalent situation on the big city canvas, as I came across it in places as far apart as Atlanta and Milwaukee.

I cannot stress the importance of this Red manifesto too much in connection with these various developments, for it outlines the tactics to be used against the United States during coexistence. After referring to "concrete historical conditions"—an emphatic label as we can find in dialectical materialism—it brings up the anti-Communist movement in the United States. This is unprecedented in a Red document. By it, Moscow recognizes the importance of this popular movement, a great tribute to those who have been working against seemingly hopeless odds. Moscow ought to know what is hurting the Communist effort.

Anticommunism is recognized in the manifesto as not confined to the rich or the privileged, which is the propaganda line the Reds take, but to be spreading through the masses. This was implied, in Red lingo, in the injunction to "wage a resolute struggle" with "greatest effort" to keep anticommunism from the "working people" and from those whom the Communists call "the masses", meaning the public in general.

The manifesto declared that anticommunism was "the principal ideological weapon" of the opponents of communism, thus recognizing it as a major peril to Red advance. Hitherto, world communism had brushed off anticommunism in the United States as a purely local phenomenon of very limited scope, not requiring any attention from the international hierarchy. The anti-anti-Communist movement in the United States was supposed to be fully able to blanket it satisfactorily.

At the time of the sensationalized McCarthy era, we had no grassroots movement, or anything comparable. World communism leaped into the "struggle" then, revolving its propaganda assault around this one man. The present anti-Communist phenomenon is of immensely greater depth, for it is now a people's movement, that derives its direction from the public. When Senator McCarthy was active, the public was not alert to communism as any special danger to the United States. We were still in the World War II stupor into which we had been put when Nazi Germany attacked Soviet Russia, forcing Moscow onto the Allied side. This is no longer the situation, for the public now wants to do something about communism, and waits to see something positive come out of official circles.

During the years of hush-hush, our channels of communication, to all practical purposes, closed their pages to anticommunism, ignored or downgraded anti-Communist books and writings, neutralized or squeezed out anti-Communist editors, authors and speakers, and made the anti-Communist a socially undesirable person—labeled "anti-social." All the forces of propaganda were focused on his annihilation by discrediting him and his works. Nonetheless, an anti-anti-Communist movement developed.

The Red manifesto makes plain that ideological differences are not to be allowed to stand in the way of crushing this anticommunism in America. Non-Communist and even anti-Communist elements are to be employed for Red anti-Communist ends, to be exploited as far as possible under the hackneyed "unity" program, or without any overt program at all, just so long as a popular or even a desirable end can be diverted into bringing about the Communist objective, which is the liquidation of the anti-Communist movement, with the carpet to be pulled out from under the Pentagon program, to assure a Red victory in this cold war battle.

Anti-anti-communism, since the appearance of the manifesto, has come out into the open, taking the offensive, as anyone acquainted with Red tactics should have been able to predict. Open attack has begun to supplement the former hush-hush, without replacing the suppressive aspects. All the well-known tactics employed by the Reds in their pressure campaigns are more and more being brought to bear. Such Red campaigns start with smears and character assassination and go on to vicious rumor-mongering and the employment of the "big drive" technique, in which all forms of public pressures are

focused on the target, from petitions and demonstrations to blackmail and corruption.

The use of united front and youth group tactics places a special and heavy responsibility on our public-spirited people, those who genuinely seek the betterment of our society, especially our youth, imbued with an idealism which must not be lost. The Moscow directive, in an insulting aloofness, as if our best motivated citizens were just another breed of Pavlovian dog to be conditioned, has started the exploitation of our youth and civic-minded citizenry in an utterly callous, overt manner, to use them to strangle the anti-Communist grassroots movement, and to put pressure on the White House and the Pentagon to interpret the anti-Communist training program into confused inaction, while awaiting its formal cancellation.

People must not allow themselves to be used this way. As in any fight, they have to determine each step they take by the degree of aid and comfort it gives the enemy, and the dangers involved. This is no easy choice in the fluid cold war arena.

The attrition of the Pentagon training and alertness program, and its abolition in practice, whether its formal abolition can be put over or not, is by a propaganda flank attack. Communism cannot be meaningfully discussed without reference to Soviet Russia, the satellites and Red aggression, and infiltration in places such as southeast Asia and Africa. Examples must be given, taken from life. These concern international affairs, of course, and the different personalities in those lands. Those who would hamstring or abolish the program in the Pentagon can be expected, therefore, to ignore cold war factors, and "psywar" in general, and to lay all their stress on the traditional separation of politics and nonmilitary matters from military discussion. By forbidding the participation of the military in seminars or forums where politics and policy are discussed, anti-Communist preparedness can be torpedoed, and the character-building aspects of the program can be eliminated. As became evident in the Pentagon while prisoners of war were still being exchanged, it is just too late to instill convictions—mental survival stamina—into our youth when they already are of military age. It has to be done before.

This attrition process is already underway in the Pentagon. Anti-communism is being interpreted in such a manner through prompt censorship of all such material, as to take the sting out of it, and leave it a sterile, philosophical concept. The Reds don't mind this. The impression has been given that to be anti-Communist is to "stick one's neck out," and selling this impression to the public is a suppression tactic in itself. People speak vaguely of "White House" or "State Department" wishes, as if this meant President Kennedy's expressed will, or Secretary Rusk's. Even if it were so, there would be highly questionable factors in an American President or a Secretary of State "passing the word along," instead of proceeding through formal channels, on matters on which the public has been led to believe a certain policy was being implemented. Rather, I have come to believe that "the White House" and "State" have gradually come to mean any one of the hundreds of staff members who work in the executive offices, and in practice any one of the extremely contrasting characters used as advisers, or for any other purpose of background or guidance, by any one of the men formally designated as aids or advisers to the President, including his official spokesman,

and the multitude of State Department officials. Thus it has come about that an impression has become quite common that the White House (or State Department) wants the Communist issue soft-pedaled, is against anticommunism, thinks the Red menace is abroad, not at home, and that we ought to focus our attention on Communist intrigue in, say Laos, and not go hunting for Reds here in America.

The proffered justification for this is a numbers game; proportionately there are few known actual Communists. So, it is argued, they must be ineffective. Yet one Fuchs can be all the Reds need in a situation of decisive strategic importance, and one opportunist—he doesn't even have to be a knowledgeable Red—would be sufficient to draw the sting from, say an anti-Communist training program on a military base, whose personnel has to come directly to grips with communism.

All sorts of signs, which in themselves would be without implication, do take on significance on this issue through their repetition in varied form. The cold war has reached its most intense stage, and the need for the backing and understanding of an informed public is unquestioned, or is supposed to be.

Some of the congressional publications contain material on the Red menace that is available nowhere else. Many of these are offered for sale by the Government Printing Office, which issues a biweekly list of new publications and occasionally a special list of publications on specific subjects, including one "relating to various aspects of communism." There is a greater need than ever for such publications now. Various States, New York and Florida among them, have provided courses in the schools which explain and expose Communist tactics.

Unfortunately, not all departments and agencies of the Government are consistently supporting anti-Communist efforts.

Surely it didn't just happen that the fine Champion of Liberty postage stamp series is being faded out of existence. Only the Moscow-Peking bloc could have found anything to object to in it. The proclamation of a Captive Nations Week, when such actions take place, has its impact diminished. If we think we're pleasing all sides this way, my experience of many years abroad convinces me that we only succeed in disgusting all sides by such devices. Technically, this may be a decision of the Post Office, but so far as public impression is concerned, it is supporting evidence for the rumors about "the word being passed along," a distinctly morale-breaking device, amoral in its nature. It's the old anti-anti-Communist movement in more vigorous form. The Reds again are able to demonstrate that when the talk is over, they end up by getting what they want.

Where youths abound, as on college campuses, we can witness their exploitation in accordance with the instructions in the Red Manifesto. I am always somewhat astonished, although I should be accustomed to it by now, by the frank manner in which some enemy of the United States tells exactly how he intends to attack us, and how each time he can depend on confusionists and people who refuse to believe that he really means what he says, to cover up for him. The manifesto plainly declares: "There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism," and we make believe these words mean what they do in our dictionary, instead of in the Red language, in which peace means submission by all to communism, and the regimented procedure of the Communist bloc is called democracy. In this manifesto, too, the Red tenet is repeated "that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily."

How more clearly do we expect the Peking-Moscow Axis to say that, when we're sufficiently softened up, we'll be put out of our capitalist miseries with a collectivized space punch? They won't say so more openly until after the event.

No wonder our foreign friends grow desperate over our limitless naïveté, if it can any longer be correctly labeled by such a nonviolent term. Our naïveté certainly had violent consequences for the freedom fighters in Hungary.

Mr. SOURWINE. How would you summarize Communist strategy in the Red anti-anti-Communist drive that you are describing?

Mr. HUNTER. In a new anti-anti-Communist drive, the Reds are exerting more intensified pressure, in a more obvious manner, employing such distinctly Red techniques as followthrough and coordination.

Coordination and followthrough, used as "psywar" tactics, can make almost anything possible of achievement. Without these two supports to reinforce and broaden the front, the best-thought schemes, and those with the mightiest potential, become duds, or fade out with such small impact that the net result is frustration, with all the disastrous effects this leads to. I have watched these tactics being successfully exploited by the enemy again and again. The Communists owe much of their consistent and stupendous victories in propaganda and in psychological warfare to their use of coordination and followthrough. We have had fairly consistent results, too—only these were failures—because we lacked coordination and followthrough. Indeed, the first evidence I've seen of it on our side seems to be the strange support for the new Red anti-anti-Communist drive.

Coordination and followthrough in "psywar" apply with the force of law, the same way as natural law, to all indiscriminately, irrespective of the right and the wrong of an issue. They're tools of the trade that can be employed as weapons on any side. The present Red anti-anti-Communist drive is a glaring example of their employment in psychological warfare, and it only recently began. Its signs are still few, visible mainly to the specialist who has the time for this kind of research. But they will be many, and broadly apparent to all, within a short time.

Coordination means the enlistment of all possible—at least all needed—persons of influence and groups of various kinds in support of or against a project. In this way, attack can be launched simultaneously from all directions, the enemy position infiltrated, and hit from flank and rear. Coordination also extends the scope of an attack to other fronts as well.

Followthrough means the creation and implementation of separate supporting and expanding activities and projects, to gain every possible advantage from an initial attack, benefiting from the impetus it gives in throwing an enemy off balance, holding the initiative as long as possible. Perhaps it derives from a different outlook. We've been raised to lift a man up if he falls down. Red technique is to begin kicking when he's stumbled and is already down.

One only has to describe these tactics for them to be recognized as part of a time-tried, Red strategy. The Communists have developed a system to both coordinate and followthrough in their "psywar" offensives, such as the present anti-anti-Communist drive. They do it by using fronts, by granting a virtual semiautonomy to local groups in the fulfillment of policy and projects, although always strictly within the framework of Communist Party line.

Without those two tactics, the Communist network could not have achieved a fraction of its gains, and probably would have been eliminated long ago. Without them, we get nowhere with our propaganda and psychological warfare. Adding funds make no difference, except perhaps adding to the frustration. This makes it worse for our side. So it has been.

This may be understandable, but hardly forgivable. There is no valid excuse for our failure in this field. We have a system nowadays that in effect eliminates coordination and followthrough by making the procedure too cumbersome, and too vulnerable to negative attitudes, wittingly or unwittingly. I have watched this negative pattern in operation too long to doubt its existence. It has been too effective in the destruction of projects to escape everybody's notice. Efforts to get at it, though, are about as rewarding as an attempt to grab hold of a handful of water. One must be terribly naive to think all this just happened, that there's nothing deliberate about it. I attribute it to those I call termites in the woodwork, who make sure we do not achieve coordination and followthrough.

Our critical need for coordination has been recognized, and remedial steps even devised, but they have always been diverted or paralyzed and when no other means of prevention were of avail, flatly disallowed without explanation, or for whatever irrelevant excuse served the purpose. The same holds true for lack of followthrough. I have watched all this too long to consider it otherwise than as part of a pattern for failure.

The anti-Communist movement that has grown up in the traditional grassroots manner in our country is a heaven-sent opportunity to bring coordination and followthrough into our "psywar" strategy. The really thrilling and inspiring part of it is that this coordination and followthrough was achieved in the anti-Communist movement within the framework of our free democratic and republican society of private initiative. It's just a start, of course, but already effective.

Red strategy is essentially weak because it is artificial; their fronts are false fronts, their unity is a deceit—nothing like what we call our bipartisan policy. Except for our default, communism would have collapsed long ago. Only in a free society can there be genuine coordination between all strata and classes of society, in and out of government, united in common purposes. This is what we have begun to achieve in our anti-Communist movement, in spite of timidity and even antagonism in high places, and a hush-hush in communications channels.

This is the genuine collaboration that the Red anti-anti-Communist drive is out to destroy. Fundamentally, the whole process of anti-communism in the United States is diametrically opposed to the Red manner of operation and would be fatal to it once it could become stable, and sure of its ground. This is why the Red manifesto has summoned its followers, dupes, and opportunists to destroy it by all means, before it can attain solidity. Anti-Communists in the United States now have to fight a two-front war, against attack from their rear, as well as in front.

This is a historic crossroads in our struggle. Some day we shall have to seek unity against Communist attack, if we are to survive. The Reds have made it plain; they will accept only our surrender. If we stand by now and see this genuine, people's anti-Communist movement, with its collaborators in all spheres of our life, certainly

in the Pentagon, succumb before the Red call for its destruction, we shall have to rebuild it from the ashes of apathy and frustration. Then it would perforce get so much Government control that we may find it impossible to avoid a regimentation that would be dangerously similar to that which we are fighting. This is the destination of those elements in our society, who might be fooling themselves into thinking they're not helping the Communists, but who nonetheless want power centralized and controlled from the center alone, because they lack faith in the American people and in private initiative.

Once more we come to the double standard. An anti-Communist movement is supposed to be basically undesirable, but an anti-anti-Communist movement is not, whether overtly or covertly, part of Red "psywar" planning. Here, too, if we seek out any logic in this, it is that the common denominator in this attitude is always what is helpful to the Communists. Those who are ignorant of the tactics of "psywar" can guide themselves by a simple, down-to-earth principle. If a policy or project helps the enemy, it is probably against our interests and certainly should be avoided until the balance is brought over to our favor.

We should take great encouragement from the fact that the anti-Communist movement in America was a spontaneous development, in the American manner, out of needs and worries felt locally. We should keep in mind, too, that only when the anti-Communist movement began to go places, and to have success—alerting people to the evils of communism, teaching them how to spot it²—did the roof fall in with this Red, anti-anti-Communist drive.

Again we see how the Communists employ coordination and followthrough, with high places involved. The Red manifesto specifically opens the door to an involvement tactic called unity. By ignoring ideological differences and excessive control factors, they give people a sense of real participation and a false sense of initiative. All that is demanded by the Red network is action in accordance with the needs of the anti-anti-Communist drive, so as to pull the carpet out from under the Pentagon, for instance, in our anti-Communist training and alertness program.

The signs show that once again the Reds are being able to exploit high places in support of a Communist objective. The tactic is gradually to surround each central figure with fait accompli and vested interests in pronouncements made without full grasp of their significance, until he is a prisoner of the anti-anti-Communist drive, irrespective of the individual's actual dislike for communism.

This isn't difficult to put across in the narrow framework of opportunistic thinking, with the restricted loyalties that gloss it over. Anything that can be considered to have political overtones or undertones—and what doesn't—becomes fair game, irrespective of the harm done our country in the process. The pro-Reds have no serious problem exploiting this. It's made to order for them—their orders. Indeed, once brought into this realm, even shipments of strategic products of our factories to the Communists, which ordinarily would be recognized at once as treasonable, receive mysterious approval and, through backstage pressure, get into Red hands without the information slipping out to the American people.

² A study entitled "The Technique of Soviet Propaganda," published by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, is available at the Government Printing Office and may be consulted at some libraries.

Opposition to such shipments then falls into the category of "anti-communism," and receives the smear treatment, if the hush-bush isn't sufficient. Somehow, an official who blocks such shipments may confidently expect to be penalized from some well-concealed direction. Perhaps a columnist or a self-seeking politician will come forth with a smear against him on some extraneous matter. Soon everyone will be barking in the Pavlovian manner, chasing him down the garden pathway, off on a trail that makes no sense. The poor victim doesn't know what bit him. The grim joke about it is that few in the wolfpack know why they are barking.

Where matters end up by helping a Communist objective, such as the Red anti-anti-Communist drive, all too often of late, we can detect obvious collaboration and followthrough between some Government offices and certain sections of the press.

This is part of our now built-in system, with its concealing committee complex. Under such circumstances, steps taken to control the diffusion of information to the public results in giving the edge, or the monopoly, to clandestine exploitation of it. The Reds have certainly shown themselves to be masters in that kind of play. They've had years of experience in perfecting it around the world. The obsession of the American reporter to get an "exclusive" makes him the world's most vulnerable for a planted news item. An "exclusive" is all too often, in this environment, a reward for closing one's eyes to the background of an item. This is a part of the pattern.

Don't confuse "exclusives" with "scoops," gentlemen. "Exclusives" have come generally to mean rewards for favors done; scoops are won by personal initiative. They're as different as "seeking" news from "gathering" news.

If you don't think there's a vast gulf of difference, read the reasons of debate on the subject during discussion in the U.N. General Assembly's Social Committee over the wording of the so-called free-press provision. The Red bloc insisted on the right to "gather" news, which obviously would be handouts, or "exclusives" discreetly distributed. We wanted the right to "seek"—seek out—news. The last I heard, as was to be expected, we had compromised by accepting—certainly not vetoing—the Red bloc's version of a "free press." This is in accordance with our popularity obsession, of course, as contrasted with our abandoned adherence to principles. Each time we think we've added to our popularity this way, we've only chiseled away a bit more of freedom, which then makes us even less popular than before.

It's also part of the double standard. When an item is printed that is pro-Communist in effect, it's called enterprising journalism—"being objective"—and we let go at that. When it's anti-Communist, it's "being subjective" and branded a breach of security, or at least a breach of confidence, and indignant voices are raised demanding the practice be rooted out and made impossible of recurrence.

We've been conditioned to this double standard, so that unless we stop and think about it, making a deliberate effort, we are inclined to let the most glaring examples go undetected. So-called liberals are demanding that the military drop its anti-Communist training and alertness program. Those who take this line say it's because the military should be held to strictly military matters, and should let other, civilian, departments deal wholly with the rest. The impres-

sion is given that this is a matter of principle, and has nothing to do with the anticommunism of it. They're such people of principle!

But aren't they the same persons who were silent when pro-Communist indoctrination courses, glossing over the most extreme Red excesses, giving the Red slant on such matters as Chinese politics, dealing frankly with the political aspects of world problems, were being given by the U.S. Army? Our wartime information and education instruction sheets were sometimes as Red as Mao Tse-tung. They were frequently slanted to the Red side. So-called liberal circles were in favor of this program. Then, too, it was called a matter of principle. Then they said that soldiers had to learn for what and whom they were fighting. When principles switch abruptly, they're not principles, they're expressions of dialectical materialism, sugar coated to American taste, sheer opportunism or plain hypocrisy.

Everyone knows about the political commissar system of the Red Army. That's been improved upon since Stalin's day—integrated, as it were. Let me quote from an article by Red Army Gen. F. Golikov, head of the Chief Political Administration—what a title—of the Soviet Army and Navy. He wrote in *Krasnaya Zvezda* of May 27, 1959, as follows (Current Digest of the Soviet Press, p. 12, vol. XI, No. 22):

For the successful accomplishment of the tasks of ideological and educational work in the armed forces we place great hopes in the rapidly growing ties of the Chief Political Administration and the lower level political agencies with the professional organizations of writers, artists, composers, journalists, and theater and motion picture workers.

The military discipline of the personnel must be further strengthened with all the means of ideological work.

The way we're heading now, with the pressure tightening on our most experienced and trustworthy Pentagon officers to restrict public statements to a constantly intensified central control, particularly as concerns communism, we're edging into a situation where we will find that, in effect, we will have adopted the method described by General Golikov. We will not have ceased indoctrination, but we will have regimented it—opposite the way we intended. If anticommunism is hushed up by default, we'll find that we'll be returning by default to the World War, pro-Red tone of our military's information and education program. The hush-bush really silences only one side; that is how it has consistently worked out.

In this modern world of mind warfare, that is being waged against us, it is impossible to remain static. If we're not allowed to train and alert people against communism, they will be softened up to be victims of it. The communications field is just too vast, having expanded even faster in the transportation of messages than in the transportation of people and freight. Let the Red anti-anti-Communist drive attain its immediate objective, and we will make sure its long-range objective will be attainable, too. This will be the mental and moral disarmament of our people, in and out of military service.

Suppression of the anti-Communist training and alertness program is to mind warfare what our one-sided disarmament would be in the weapons field. We would have no alternative to surrender, to the fulfillment of the creeping defeatism best characterized by the horrible slogan, "Better Red than dead."

Mr. SOURWINE. You say a definitive stage in this new Red program against anticommunism has now been reached?

Mr. HUNTER. The new Red, anti-anti-Communist drive has been ordered by the Soviet Communist hierarchy, speaking through and by the voice of the Communist parties of the world, gathered in a rare conclave. This becomes fundamental law and basic strategy, obligatory on all Communists. There can be no question of its implementation. The only possible question left to Communist Party people are the most effective methods, guaranteeing the maximum impact, by which these orders can be put into effect. Let me stress again that they constitute orders to combat the anti-Communist movement head-on in the United States, no longer through the comparative restraint of what might be called the pseudoliberal anti-anticommunism of the past.

Ideological differences are to be submerged. This means that we can expect the Red objective to be cloaked in every kind of disguise, made palatable to every important grouping in our society, the pro-Red aspect concealed where possible. We can expect, too, to find our idealistic youth, especially in our institutions of higher learning, callously employed as a front in this Red drive. This will present us with a very difficult problem, to prevent or expose such intrigue for these young people who of course lack the background themselves to distinguish between a Red maneuver and an expression of sincere opinion, uninstigated by ulterior, anti-American purposes. Even more difficult it will be to persuade them to separate this chaff from the grain, when the chaff has been so tastefully sugar coated.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say this has just started, in effect, that this new anti-anti-Communist drive will intensify in the near future?

Mr. HUNTER. Although this may appear as a prediction, it isn't one at all, at least it shouldn't be to anyone who has watched and understands the ironclad pattern of Communist Party procedure, that they call discipline. Certain steps must follow, as surely as night follows day, and then night comes again. We shall witness a seemingly spontaneous outpouring of articles and persuasions of every character, that will arise all along the fringes of the communications field where the Reds have influence, and from then on, in the manner by which the "McCarthyism" drive was built up, penetrating all channels of the press and all attitude-changing segments of our society, such as schools and churches. The pro- or anti-Communist leanings of the participants will have nothing to do with the case, as seen from the surface.

The Communist Party organs will set the key. Orchestration will gradually spread from one section of the orchestra to the other, until all will be playing the same music, in a rising crescendo. This is the Red technique, to make the pressure of what will appear as public opinion so relentless and so loud that everybody will begin to dance to the same tune, and those who don't want to dance will be grabbed by their friends and neighbors and brought onto the floor, as in an American barn dance. By then, nobody will be thinking about who called the tune in the first place, and those few who do will appear as queers. This would be a hopeless situation except for one thing. If it is exposed in time, the whole Red psychological warfare gambit can be defeated with comparatively little effort.

Exactly as knowledge of brainwashing was found to be vaccination against it, knowledge of the Red intent of a propaganda drive destroys its effectiveness. We will only have to witness the orchestration, as it will begin developing very shortly now, for us to recognize this Red

anti-anti-Communist trap wherever it appears. This "psywar" booby trap will lie visible on the top of the road from then on. If we don't expose it this way, though, it will easily cripple or kill us—Khrushchev's expression for it is "burial."

Mr. SOURWINE. Could you gather this evidence—the written material that you say will appear as sure as night follows day?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, I could.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may we ask that the witness do this, and bring us the material he has gathered, with analyses, by perhaps the end of the month, to be included as appendices to this hearing?

Senator COTTON. That will be the order. Mr. Hunter, we expect you then to provide us with material found by you, appearing in the public press this year up to the end of July 1961, directly bearing upon the implementation of what you have described as a new Red anti-anti-Communist drive, with your own notes or analyses of the various items.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you, I will do so.

(The material referred to, submitted by Mr. Hunter on August 1, appears hereafter as appendices.)

Mr. SOURWINE. There is one thing more, perhaps, I have several papers here. I wonder if you will glance at them, tell me if you have seen them before, and in any case, give us your reaction. Here is the first one.

Mr. HUNTER. I have not seen this before. Should I read this aloud?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, please do so.

Mr. HUNTER. This is a Secretary of Defense document dated March 10, 1961, for the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force reading:

(1) There is presently being established within the Office of the Secretary of Defense centralized procedures for evaluating materials designed for indoctrination of personnel of the Defense Department in the general area of international affairs and related fields. This evaluation will apply to all materials, written, pictorial, or audio, used in training programs and troop information programs, and will be in conformance with the security and policy review regulations of the Defense Department.

(2) The film "Operation Abolition" will be retained in the film libraries on an "on call" basis for those requesting to view it, but will not be prescribed in the training of personnel. A memorandum of January 31, 1961, from the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education stated the "on call" policy for information programs and described the production of an OAFIE film covering the tactics employed by Communists seeking to manipulate youth. This film is being produced within the framework of material set forth in the House Committee on Un-American Activities print entitled "Communist Target—Youth," a report by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

(3) Another film coming within the scope of paragraph (1), which recently has been brought to our attention is entitled "Communism on the Map." Determination as to the use of this film will be deferred pending its evaluation pursuant to the procedure prescribed in paragraph (1).

This is signed by Roswell L. Gilpatric, Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your reaction?

Mr. HUNTER. Considering the date, and recalling the publicity about these films, which I have seen, it is obvious to me that, removed from the legalisms, the document can be paraphrased as saying: "Use any of these anti-Communist films at your own risk. Heaven help you if you do." I would regard this as one of the early successes of the Red anti-anti-Communist pressure drive.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is the second document on which we want your comment.

Mr. HUNTER. This, too, is new to me. This is a similar type of document, signed Carlisle P. Runge, on stationery of Assistant Secretary of Defense, dated April 21, 1961, and reading:

Subject: Narrated Filmstrip "Communism on the Map."

The commercial, narrated filmstrip, "Communism on the Map" has been determined, by official review under DOD evaluation procedures, as not required for the Armed Forces training of troop information or public information programs and that it should not be purchased by the Department or used by Department of Defense personnel.

Attention is invited to the many materials in the area of anticommunism including pamphlets and motion pictures produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, which are available for troop-information programs.

The pattern, gentlemen, is being nailed down. Hard-hitting or specific training and alertness material, if this is any indication, is on the way out. Officers know the contents of this film. They will get the anti-anti-Communist message in this order. It puts them in what, I feel, is an unfair dilemma. They can't possibly arouse fighting men to risk their lives with mamby-pamby stuff that takes the sting out of Communism. Yet if they use the hard facts, they know they're probably going to have difficulties. This is the propaganda climate being created by such memorandums in the Pentagon. It couldn't be otherwise. Incidentally, to call this a commercial film is not quite true; it was produced by a college.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here are two other documents.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you. This is dated May 16, 1961. I haven't seen this, either. [Reading:]

From: Secretary of the Navy.

To: All ships and stations.

Subject: Commercial filmstrip "Communism on the Map."

1. Purpose: To promulgate the findings of an official review of subject filmstrip.

2. Background: The commercial, narrated filmstrip "Communism on the Map" has been determined, by official review under Department of Defense evaluation procedures, as not required for Armed Forces training, internal information, or public information programs. Attention is invited to the many officially approved materials in the area of anticommunism, including pamphlets and motion pictures produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, which are available through Navy and Marine Corps information programs.

3. Action: The filmstrip "Communism on the Map" shall not be purchased by Navy or Marine Corps activities nor shall it be used by Department of Navy personnel.

4. Cancellation: This notice is canceled for record purposes on October 31, 1961. Its retention beyond that date for reference purposes is authorized.

This is signed Paul W. Fay, Under Secretary of the Navy.

I shall proceed at once to the reading of the second document, dated March 17, 1961. I have not seen this before, either. [Reading:]

From: Chief of Navy Personnel.

To: All ships and stations (less Marine Corps field addresses not having Navy personnel attached).

Subject: Materials for indoctrination of personnel in the general area of international affairs and related fields.

Enclosure: Secretary of Defense memo to the Secretaries of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force dated March 10, 1961.

1. Purpose: To forward enclosure (1) for information and guidance.

2. Discussion: Enclosure (1) announces the establishment of procedures for the centralized evaluation of written, pictorial, and audio materials designed to indoctrinate personnel in the general area of international affairs and related

fields. Such materials are used in the information and education program and in some parts of certain related programs.

3. Action: Pending further guidance, official material (listed in the I. & E. catalog or other Navy Department-approved catalog, curriculum, or training publication) previously issued or approved may continue to be used as required. Nonofficial material should not be used hereafter until evaluated in accordance with enclosure (1).

This is signed W. R. Snedberg III, Bureau of Navy Personnel.

The second of these documents merely makes sure that if there is any other hard-hitting material against our enemy laying about, or in the files, obtained in collaboration with the public in pursuance of the Presidential directive declaring this to be a problem of the military and the public both, it will not be used.

The other document merely backstops this new line. Frankly, I am quite concerned over what material will substitute for what has been withdrawn, in effect. If the withdrawn material is too strong, what replaces it obviously will be weaker. While Moscow is firming up its anti-American stand, we are softening ours, so far as the minds of the men who would have to do the fighting and dying are concerned. Yet Korea was supposed to have taught us that disaster lies along that road.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is still another document. Have you seen it before?

Mr. HUNTER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please read it, and let me know your reaction.

Mr. HUNTER (reading):

From: Secretary of the Navy.

To: All ships and stations.

Subject: Commercial filmstrip "Communism on the Map," May 16, 1961.

1. Purpose: To promulgate the findings of an official review of subject filmstrip.

2. Background: The commercial, narrated filmstrip "Communism on the Map" has been determined, by official review under Department of Defense evaluation procedures, as not required for Armed Forces training, internal information, or public information programs. Attention is invited to the many officially approved materials in the area of anticommunism, including pamphlets and motion pictures produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, which are available through Navy and Marine Corps information programs.

3. Action: The filmstrip "Communism on the Map" shall not be purchased by Navy or Marine Corps activities nor shall it be used by Department of the Navy personnel.

4. Cancellation: This notice is canceled for record purposes on October 31, 1961. Its retention beyond that date for reference purposes is authorized.

This is signed "Paul B. Fay, Jr., Under Secretary of the Navy." It brings the anti-anti-Communist drive a very big step forward, if "forward" is the proper word to use. It's certainly to the Communist advantage in the war for the mind. A fundamental objective of the Red drive is to cut off Pentagon participation in the grassroots movement that is at long last awakening our people. The American people as a nation must learn these facts, as our Government had already officially recognized, if we are to attain mental survival stamina. This order goes far—it is a tremendous step—toward forbidding such participation. We disarm unilaterally to this extent in the sphere that is crucial in this war—mind warfare. It is shocking.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is one more.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you. This also is new to me. This is from Atlantic Command, Headquarters of the Commander in Chief, Norfolk 11, Va., June 14, 1961, and is signed "Horatio Rivero, Deputy Chief of Staff." I will read it:

1. Purpose: To provide policy guidance of news and classification of material within the Department of Defense.

2. Discussion: At a news conference in Washington, D.C., May 26, 1961, the Honorable Robert S. McNamara discussed the subject of dissemination of information to the public and classification of material within the Department of Defense. The following extracts from the Secretary's remarks are quoted:

"The public information policies of the Department of Defense require a deliberate accommodation of two competing values. As President Kennedy has observed, the challenge of our times imposes two requirements that seem almost contradictory in tone, but which we must reconcile and which we must fulfill. There is the need for greater public information and the need for greater official secrecy.

"In order to provide some further guidance for those of us, all of us, both military and civilian officials alike, who must deal with this problem, I suggested four principles to help the members of the Department to meet both these requirements. The application of these principles, although they might restrict the flow of properly classified information to some extent, would encourage more open, more responsible discussion of the pros and cons of the national defense policies and practices. The four principles are:

"(1) In a democratic society the public must be kept informed of the major issues in national defense policy, because the most important issues are likely to be the most difficult ones; the arguments on both sides must be made clear so that there can be a consensus of coincidence in the ultimate decision. We are under a special obligation to disclose mistakes and ineffective administrative operations.

"The public has at least as much right to bad news as to good news.

"(2) It is essential to avoid disclosures of information that can be of national assistance to our potential enemies, and therefore weaken our defense position. It is equally important to avoid overclassification; when in doubt, underclassify. In no event should overclassification be used to avoid public discussion of controversial matters.

"(3) Public statements of what appears to be Department of Defense policy must reflect that policy in effect.

"(4) In public discussion all officers of the Department should confine themselves to defense matters. Avoid discussion of foreign policy matters, a field which is reserved for the President and the Department of State. This long-established principle recognizes the danger that when Defense officials express opinions as to foreign policy, their words may be taken as the policy of the Government.

3. Action: Information contained in paragraph 2 above is forwarded for information and guidance.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you say to this?

Mr. HUNTER. If the fourth point were obeyed, in the kind of conflict in which we are engaged, we would return to the condition of mind disarmament we were in when the Reds struck in Korea. It cannot be obeyed without disobeying the directives that were supposed to enforce the code for our men who may be captured by Communists, and it cannot be obeyed without making believe there is no such thing as brainwashing, that what took place in the prisoner of war camps was a bad dream, a hallucination perhaps that never happened. We are rewriting history, in effect. We are also betraying ourselves. In the arena of the cold war, the Red anti-anti-Communist drive, as ordered by the Red manifesto of December 5, 1960, won a stunning victory for itself on—let me see, what is the date of the document I just read—May 16, 1961. Why do we do these things? Oh well—

Mr. SOURWINE. This completes my questioning.

Senator CORROON. We will be waiting to receive your compilation of press material. Thank you, Mr. Hunter. The hearing is adjourned.

APPENDIXES

These appendixes and the accompanying prefatory notes were provided by the witness, Edward Hunter, who had been instructed to supply such written material from the press generally, to the end of July 1961, as had a direct bearing upon what he described in his testimony as the new, Red anti-anti-Communist drive, with whatever brief analysis might be required. Mr. Hunter has pointed out these are examples, with the merely cumulative omitted, and are not intended as an indictment of any individual or publication.

APPENDIX 1

The following are relevant excerpts from the "Statement of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties" as officially translated by Moscow and published in the Red theoretical organ in the United States, Political Affairs, in its January 1961 issue. (The full text as well as the complete Tass translation as printed in the New York Times on December 7 can be found in the appendix to the testimony of Jay Lovestone before this Committee last January 26 and February 2.)

The Red Manifesto is a basic strategy paper to outline Communist Party operations and, as such, makes extensive use of the Communist language of dialectical materialism, always giving this slant to its statements. In understanding Communist intent, these words and paragraphs must be translated into ordinary language, often producing the opposite words in non-Communist dictionaries.

When read this way, as the indoctrinated Communist does, Red documentation is extremely revealing of purposes and tactics otherwise successfully concealed.

For instance, a simple sentence from the Manifesto, such as "As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression," actually means, in Red language: "As long as dynamic non-Communist countries exist they may take the opportunity to resist Communist world expansion." In their writings, when Communists attack, it is "liberation" and not "aggression." The dialectical materialist dictionary is composed of the fundamental writings of Red leaders and theoreticians.

Here are the excerpts from the Manifesto:

... U.S. imperialism ... has become an enemy of the whole world ... In blazing a trail of communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. ...

... As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression. ...

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass efforts for peace, and promote coopera-

tion with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war. The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialists.

No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world.

The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent.

The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the women, in sports organizations, and the unorganized sections of the population.

The Communist Parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of nonpeaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witchhunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organizations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights. . . . The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement.

APPENDIX 2

In a massive draft program announced at Moscow by the Soviet Communist Party on July 29, the red hierarchy recognized for the second time the importance of the anti-Communist movement in the United States. The first time was in the Red Manifesto of December 5, 1960.

The new document reiterates tactics to be employed against the United States in the Red "struggle" to conquer the world, with the United States as the primary target.

Moscow's reiterated propaganda theme is that this can be achieved "peacefully", presumably by bringing about American surrender through psychological warfare strategy, thereby preserving the Soviet Union against destruction. Hence, the coexistence line serves a dual purpose: (1) lulling the Soviet population, which actually wants peace, certainly abhors the thought of a repetition of World War II horrors, and (2) stirring creeping defeatism in the West.

Meanwhile, of course, new and continued sacrifices are evidently to be required of the Communist-dominated peoples, already suffering from shortages of food and other necessities. The document seeks to take the attention of its enslaved people from such deficiencies, and to prepare them for even more acute stringencies to follow, by making a host of pie-in-the-sky promises of a paradise of plenty in the future.

Here is an excerpt from the text as sent abroad by Tass, the official Soviet Russian news agency, dealing with anti-communism in our land:

The chief ideological and political weapon of imperialism is anti-communism. Rallied to this black banner today are all the enemies of social progress. Anti-communism is a reflection of the extreme decadence of bourgeois ideology.

Monopoly capital engenders fascist ideology, the ideology of extreme chauvinism and racism. Anti-communism is becoming the main instrument of reaction in its struggle against the democratic forces of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The right wing of social-democracy has completely broken with Marxism and has put forward so-called democratic socialism against scientific socialism.

Historical experience has shown the bankruptcy of both the ideology and the policy of social-democracy.

Anti-communism has brought social reformism to an ideological and political impasse. This is one of the main reasons for the crisis of social-democracy.

APPENDIX 3

Cabell Phillips has been the New York Times axe man in the anti-anti-Communist movement, once it became too widespread and effective to be any longer kept under wraps. Overnight, the activities of the anti-Communist groups became the subject of long articles, which made quite a point of how extensive the campaign to alert Americans on communism had become.

Significantly, nary a whisper of this campaign had hitherto got into the New York Times, or any of the other anti-anti-Communist, prestige newspapers. Anti-communism only became news when the pillorying of the Birch Society gave them the opportunity to refer to all anti-communism as work of "the Birchites," and to smear it all indiscriminately as "right extremist." Without exception, each of the articles purporting to summarize the anti-Communist movement followed this propaganda line.

Each time, too, with a similarity that is unmistakable, and certainly enlightening on the source of these purported news articles, there is a backhanded effort to brand the whole thing as Nazi. For instance, this nearly four-column article, of May 21, ends with an anonymous refugee from Germany quoted as saying:

"Have you ever thought of the parallel between John Birch and Horst Wessel? I have, and it frightens me when I see this anti-Communist feeling getting out of hand."

If this reportage is to be believed, the "right-extremist" type is the only kind of anti-communism there is.

The article follows:

ANTI-RED DISPUTE GRIPS ILLINOISANS--INTENSIVE RIGHT-WING EFFORTS AROUSE CONTROVERSY

(By Cabell Phillips)

(Special to The New York Times)

EVANSTON, Ill., May 5.—A grass-roots campaign to inculcate an aggressive form of anti-Communist "Americanism" in all walks of life is spreading through the North Shore suburbs of Chicago.

Its intensity is disturbing the social, political and religious equanimity of many persons in this heavily populated area.

On one side are a number of conservative activists allied, in fact or in spirit, with the John Birch Society.

They contend that Communist subversion in the schools, churches and many areas of public life is endangering "fundamental Americanism," and, indeed, the very existence of the Republic. They are pursuing an active campaign of "education" and various forms of persuasion to alert their fellow citizens to the danger.

LIBERALS ON DEFENSIVE

On the other side is a loose coalition of liberals and moderates who argue that the Communist danger is being distorted and exaggerated for political ends by "Right-wingers and bigots." Placed on the defensive in this conflict, they have countered their strategy largely to protests at public meetings and letters to newspapers and public officials.

Mutual antagonisms are apparent in most of these well-to-do suburban communities from Evanston north to Waukegan. But they run more deeply in some than in others.

In Glenview, for example, "Americanism" became a dominant but whispered issue in a recent village election contest. A Roman Catholic priest and a Methodist minister in the same community have taken to sniping at each other in public over the merits of the anti-Communist crusade.

In Evanston, a man who ran for the House of Representatives last fall contends that he was victimized by a "smear campaign" that associated him with Communist movements. This episode will soon reach its climax in a Federal court.

"LEFT WING" ASSAILED

The motivation behind the Americanism drive was summed up the other day by a resident of Evanston who is generally sympathetic to its objectives but not a direct participant.

"I don't believe the North Shore has a great many more actual Communists than any other similar area," he said. "But we do have a great many Left-wing thinkers dog in around the colleges and universities who seem to do the Communists' work for them. They have a lot of influence."

"But even more importantly, we have a lot of apathy and downright ignorance by the majority of the well-to-do people here. They've got good jobs, good incomes and they live in a dream world. They don't know what's going on in the world outside, or even right under their noses."

"I don't think there's anything more important than to educate them to the fact that that dream world is about to be snatched out from under them—and all the rest of us, too."

ECHOED IN MANY AREAS

Similar views have been found among conservative groups in many parts of the country. They often gain their most effective expression in an aggressive anti-communism.

The common denominator in the thinking of these groups, as observed in several weeks of travel, is that "the American way of life" is being attacked by

fifth columnists frequently operating under such "socialistic" guises as "liberalism," "the welfare state" and "one-worldism."

These ideological convictions are often accompanied by an opposition to existing tax, foreign aid and civil rights policies of the Federal Government, and by a belief that the religious and moral fiber of the nation is deteriorating because of Communist machinations.

Two organizations that have been most active in fostering this drive at the community level are the John Birch Society, headed by Robert H. W. Welch, Jr. of Beloit, Mass., and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, of which Dr. Fred C. Schwarz of Long Beach, Calif., is president.

Their tactics differ somewhat, but their aims are almost identical. The Birch Society advocates not only "education," but also the adoption, on occasion, of Communist methods to combat Communist subversion. Its belligerency goes so far, for example, as to demand the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren for furthering Communist aims.

SCHWARZ DOCTRINE

The Schwarz doctrine advocates much the same sort of "education" about the Communist menace but stops short of urging particular acts of reprisal.

Both groups have been active in the Chicago area for many years.

Stillwell J. Connor, a Chicago industrialist, was quoted recently as having said that he had inducted more than 400 members into the Birch Society, mostly in the northern suburbs, since 1959. Another Birch member estimated the total membership in the Chicago area at 1,000.

Dr. Schwarz has appeared on local lecture platforms frequently, but he did not turn on the full power of his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade until late last summer. The current controversy along the North Shore dates from that time.

On Aug. 29, 1960, Dr. Schwarz opened a five-day school on anti-communism at the Glenview Naval Air Station. Sessions were held three times a day in an auditorium on the base, with an attendance of several hundred at each session. The audiences consisted of base personnel, Naval reservists and civilians from surrounding communities.

PHILBRICK ON FACULTY

The faculty included several Navy officers, Dr. Schwarz and such professionals in the field of anti-communism as Herbert Philbrick, a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Dr. E. Merrill Root, author of "Brainwashing in the High Schools"; Richard Arens, then staff director for the House Un-American Activities Committee; Prof. Anthony Bonascaren of Le Moyne College, Syracuse, N.Y., and others.

Dr. Schwarz' program at Glenview was similar to others he has conducted in many parts of the country, one recently in St. Louis.

It is built around a series of lectures supplemented by films, tape recordings and the sale of books and pamphlets, many written by Dr. Schwarz.

Two films are among those shown most often. One is "Operation Abolition," which depicts as Communist-managed the student riots in San Francisco last year that grew out of a session there of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The other is "Communism on the Map," which pictures the United States as falling victim to Communist encirclement and subversion.

The course purports to give a scholarly résumé and analysis of world communism, with particular emphasis on its impact on the United States since World War II.

The principal theme is that the American way of life is being subtly but systematically undermined by Communist fifth columnists and their "stooges," who often operate under the guise of socialism.

Evidence of their influence, the course points out, is found chiefly on the campuses of American colleges, among the Protestant clergy and in the policy-making levels of the Federal Government.

SCHOOL HAILED

The Glenview school was adjudged a great success by its sponsors and participants, and also, apparently, by many residents of this area who had no part in it.

Jack Mabley, who at the time was a columnist for the Chicago Daily News and president of the Glenview Village Board, wrote approvingly of the venture in his column. He also sponsored a resolution of commendation by the village board that passed with only one negative vote.

But there were a number of dissenting views. These were based chiefly on the grounds that the school fostered an atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance toward persons of moderate and liberal political convictions, and that it held up to ridicule and criticism certain established foreign policy positions of the Federal Government that the Navy was required to support.

One of the dissenters was Mrs. Norma Morrison, a housewife who serves on the Glenview Village Board. Mrs. Morrison refused to vote in favor of the commendatory resolution.

"I received a number of rather nasty telephone calls about it," she said recently, "most of them anonymous and at night. They accused me of being a 'Red' or 'pink' or 'anti-Catholic'—which, of course, I am not."

"And the next meeting of the board," she declared, "a resolution was prepared demanding my resignation, but Jack Mabley ruled it out of order and refused to let it come up."

PROFESSOR'S TELEGRAM

Another dissenter was Dr. Tyler Thompson, a professor of religion at Northwestern University and a Democratic candidate for the House last fall. While the school was in progress last September, he sent this telegram to William B. Franke, then Secretary of the Navy:

"I wish to protest the apparent official link of the Navy to the political propaganda being disseminated at the Education for American Security (as the Schwarz school was called) at Glenview Naval Air Station. Official program and early publicity clearly indicate Naval sponsorship. Please investigate."

The result was an official denial of direct Navy sponsorship of the school.

In the following weeks, there turned up on drug store counters and in the mail boxes of various North Shore homes and offices a four-page document purporting to link Dr. Thompson with Communist and Communist-front organizations. It bore no name or return address.

The pamphlet noted Dr. Thompson's membership in or cooperation with such organizations as the Methodist Federation for Social Action, Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran (Immigration) Act. Each of these groups, it said, had been cited for its Communist affiliation or sympathies either by the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

CITES THE WORKER

It also carried the following entry:

"The Worker" (midwest edition), official publication of the Communist Party, USA, published an article on June 5, 1960, in which it indicated that Tyler Thompson is 'receiving wide and significant support in his campaign' . . . and is generally favorable in tone.

"It should be noted that it is not the practice of 'The Worker' to give favorable publicity to candidates for political office unless that paper has a particular interest in their candidacy."

The leaflet was turned over to the F.B.I. for investigation as a possible violation of the Corrupt Practices Act. As a result, Miles M. Vondra, Jr., a Glenview insurance man who claims active membership in one of the many Birch Society units in the neighborhood, was indicted last January. He is scheduled to go on trial in Federal District Court on May 22.

Dr. Thompson was soundly beaten in the election. But he attributes his defeat as much to the "overwhelming Republicanism" of this district as to the leaflet.

LETTER TO THE NAVY

Long after the anti-communism school was concluded, an office for the Education for American Security program was maintained at the naval station. A few months ago, thirty citizens of the area signed another letter of protest to the Secretary of the Navy. Mrs. Morrison was among them. The letter became public.

In April, Mrs. Morrison was a candidate for re-election to the Glenview Village Board. She was supported by the Caucus party, in which several of the letter's signers were also active. She said recently that she and several other Caucus candidates had been targets of a "whispering campaign" in which the letter to the Secretary was cited as evidence that their "Americanism" was questionable.

"We won the election," she said, "but there has been a great deal of bitterness left over from it. Our town is divided in a way I've never seen it before."

This division has also bared among church groups.

One of the most articulate partisans of the anti-Communist program is the Rev. John J. Dussman, pastor of the Roman Catholic church of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Glenview.

Nearly every issue of his weekly parish paper, The Clarion, contains an endorsement of the Birch Society or another of the more active "Americanist" groups. Parishioners are frequently urged to join "one of our anti-Red cells."

REBUKES PROTESTANTS

In an issue a few weeks ago, Father Dussman criticized a local "Protestant church gathering" for having distributed copies of The Christian Century that contained an article critical of the movie "Operation Abolition." The Christian Century is a nondenominational publication that generally reflects the liberal Protestant viewpoint.

This brought a sharp rebuke a week later from the Rev. Calvin W. Robinson, pastor of a large neighboring Methodist congregation. Mr. Robinson said in the course of his sermon:

"I am disturbed over the activities of American pharisees today—close-minded, self-righteous conservatives who also (as did the Biblical pharisees) resent having their truths challenged. The John Birch Society is just such a group. It does not have the answers to our problems in international relations, and it only leads us backward into old ways that have betrayed mankind again and again."

A possible explanation for the intensity of the controversy here lies in the missionary zeal that both the Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade impart to their "converts."

Dozens of them in this area, individually and in teams, fan out nightly and over week-ends, equipped with tape recordings, motion-picture projectors and suitcases of books and pamphlets to carry on their mission.

Their audiences may be a dozen or more neighbors in a living room, a Rotary Club or American Legion meeting, a school assembly or many hundreds gathered in a public hall.

A fairly typical meeting was held on a Sunday afternoon late in April at the lake-front estate of Mr. and Mrs. Jay Sheesley, in Glenview.

For four hours 300 specially invited guests heard lectures and watched a showing of "Operation Abolition." The program was presented by three young enlisted men from the Great Lakes Naval Training Center.

The three-man Navy team is a product of Dr. Schwarz's school last summer at the Glenview Naval Air Station. Its members are Milton J. Fick, Francis R. Mills and Robert Cocks. In the last six months, on their own time and without fee, they have conducted scores of such meetings, in points as far distant as Iowa and Wisconsin.

"Please make it clear," Mr. Fick said during a recent interview, "that we do this independently of the Navy, and that we never appear in uniform."

A similar sense of dedication is displayed by Capt. Isaiah Hampton, commanding officer of the Glenview Naval Air Station. A tall, taciturn, career officer of fifty, he described himself in an interview the other day as "a Texas conservative."

"Lenin put in on the line forty years ago," he said, leaning intently across his desk—"America will fall into our hands like over-ripe fruit." He means it, and it's happening. I think it's important that every American citizen is made aware of it."

There is another side to this coin of fear that has become so much a part of the currency on the North Shore. It was noted by a woman school teacher in Winnetka the other day. Some of her family had lived in Nazi Germany. Asking that she not be quoted by name, she said:

"Have you ever thought of the parallel between John Birch and Horst Wessel? I have, and it frightens me when I see this anti-Communist feeling getting out of hand."

APPENDIX 4

This editorial, one of the keynote attacks marking the start of the Red anti-anti-Communist drive in the press could be used as a textbook example of what has the general title of the "poison pen tactic" in propaganda warfare.

In the style of Red "psywar", the New York Post editorial of May 25 subtly links smear symbols to the new target group, which hitherto

had been given the hush-hush treatment, and against which there had been no breath of criticism. The tone of the editorial is gentle satire, along the patronizing, supercilious line that is the hallmark of certain fake sophisticated circles that have appropriated the fine, old word liberal as a cloak for what is utterly illiberal. So, the New York State Division of Military and Naval Affairs is "hardly burdened with problems of grand strategy" and "has discovered a popular new battle terrain," which is support of meetings "ostensibly dealing with the danger of communism." The word "ostensibly" indicates that this is not its real purpose, but some other, concealed, aim. Further on, by linking it to the Birch Society through a "spiritual connection"—whatever this means—the impression is conveyed, although not said, that this is a Fascist (Nazi) plot. Even a racist slur is gratuitously brought in by a reference to "know-nothingism." Incidentally, this is the line the Red Manifesto has ordered implemented in its fight to crush the anti-Communist alertness and training program in the United States, especially in such powerful centers as the Pentagon. The editorial makes its point unmistakably with the sentence: "Needless to say, the enterprise bears no serious relation to the Communist problem." The phrase, "needless to say," disarms those who would ask what basis there is for this tissue of pro-Red lies that constitutes the New York Post editorial. They are apparently low-brows if they do happen to question the pro-Red point of view.

No textbook on clandestine tactics in psychological warfare, particularly its propaganda side, would be complete without this New York Post editorial of May 25, 1961:

LOCAL WAR GAMES

New York's State Division of Military and Naval Affairs, hardly overburdened with problems of grand strategy involving the deployment of armies and warships, has discovered a popular new battle terrain on which to exercise its surplus functions. It plans to play war games in the ideological arena by supporting a series of seminars ostensibly dealing with the danger of communism. Its first campaign will be an engagement in Albany designed to get funds for the cause.

The field of anti-communism has become a game in which any number can play, regardless of their political literacy. Thus, the Militia Assn. of New York, a private organization of military officers, is sponsoring an "educational" program under the auspices of a dubious outfit known as American Strategy, Inc. Financial support now comes from private sources, but the State Division of M. & N. Affairs would remedy this logistics problem by tapping the public treasury as an official body and emerging openly as the command post.

Any connection between AS, Inc. and the Birch Society is not being advertised. But clearly the spiritual connection is unmistakable. Needless to say, the enterprise bears no serious relation to the Communist problem. But that doesn't seem to bother the players.

We trust that when the Division of M. & N. Affairs invites the Legislature to subsidize the game, the answer will be loud, clear and negative. New York needs no new adventure in know-nothingism.

Of significance, too, was the first article on the subject published May 21 by the New York Times, a half-column-long dispatch, dated Albany. Crisply, the article led off with a proposed request for funds, not possible until next January, instead of relating what actually was the news, the start of this effort to acquaint the New York public with the truth about communism.

The article was written in a manner to provide basic material for attack, rather than to relate information even objectively. There isn't a hint that there is any valid reason for the seminars planned.

The article follows:

STATE'S MILITARY ALERTING ON REDS—DIVISION WEIGHS REQUESTING LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Special to the New York Times

ALBANY, May 20—The Legislature may be asked to appropriate funds for a series of seminars designed to alert New Yorkers to the danger of communism.

The State Division of Military and Naval Affairs said today it was considering a request to the Legislature to support a program now being sponsored by the Militia Association of New York.

The association is a private organization of about 3,600 officers of the New York Army National Guard, Air National Guard and Naval Militia. It is headed by Maj. Gen. Collin P. Williams of Syracuse, commanding general of the Army National Guard's Twenty-seventh Armored Division.

The Legislature does not convene for a regular session until next January. In the meantime, the militia association's anti-Communist efforts will be bolstered by a privately endowed organization known as American Strategy, Inc., with headquarters at 95 Broad Street, New York.

PROGRAM IS OUTLINED

At the request of Maj. Gen. Almerin C. O'Hara, Chief of Staff to Governor Rockefeller, a representative of American Strategy addressed a briefing session conducted by the Military and Naval Affairs Division here. The speaker was Lt. Col. Gunther E. Hartel, a retired Army officer who was formerly on the staff of G-2 (Intelligence) of the First Army.

"It is proposed that the effort of American Strategy, Inc., be coordinated with the Militia Association to provide a statewide program of public education on the threat of communism," Colonel Hartel said.

American Strategy will assist the Militia Association by providing lecturers and material about the nature of communism. The first seminar is scheduled for the week-end of June 24 in Syracuse.

A generally cooperative, indeed enthusiastic reception meets efforts to counter Red subversive warfare, with only isolated exceptions, once one leaves certain metropolitan areas, as New York City, where anti-anti-communism has made deep penetration in the communications field. Part of the reason may be that these interior regions are usually still beyond the effective reach of the pressure groups identified with the appeasement and "better Red than dead" mentalities.

An example is the following editorial, referring to retired Lt. Col. Gunther Hartel of American Strategy, Inc., and was printed in the Syracuse Post-Standard of September 2, 1960, shortly before he left the service:

BATTLE FOR MINDS

As the American Bar Association declines to urge high school courses on international communism, an Army psychological warfare expert warns Watertown Kiwanians "we are losing the battle for men's minds while preparing for a hot war."

Lt. Col. Gunther Hartel, Camp Drum intelligence officer, has considerable knowledge of communist methods. He was a psychological warfare adviser in Southeast Asia.

He says, "The communists are agitating strife to annihilate our Nation from within. This is being promoted through apathy, racial propaganda and encouragement to 'defiant ones.' By defiant he means those who rebel against the principles of educational freedom and individual equality on which the country was founded.

Alert Americans can sense this menace. Can high school pupils be made aware of it without courses on communism to show them just what they are up against? The American Bar Association apparently believes so.

But if adult Americans are naive enough to be sucked in by Red propaganda, as Col. Hartel insists, youngsters certainly need a thorough grounding in the

psychological methods being used. If not in high school, where and when can the communist system be explained?

The greatest danger, it seems to us, is apathy. The ABA could do much to help in dispelling that state by coming out flatfooted for some method of offsetting the subtle "conditioning" of young American minds by those by whom Col. Hartel terms "masters of deceit."

It is well to view with alarm now and then. We become too complacent and miss the significance of events going on around us. And if we are indeed losing the battle for men's minds, it is time to find out what is wrong with the "defiant ones" and see what can be done about them.

APPENDIX 5

The assault on the Pentagon in the stepped-up anti-anti-Communist drive began on Sunday, June 18. The previous coverage by the New York Times apparently had been preparatory skirmishes. The big guns were now wheeled into place, and began firing.

On that day, an article began on the first page, entitled "Right-Wing Officers Worrying Pentagon," and continued three more columns long on page 56, spreading across the entire top of the page. It was signed again by Cabell Phillips, who apparently was now the New York Times anti-Communist movement exposé man.

The target was now shifted from secondary positions, along the periphery, to the heart of the anti-Communist campaign. Anti-Communist activities by military officers were equated with "radically right-wing political philosophies," a more genteel way of saying pro-Fascist or pro-Nazi. This set the campaign plan, heaping together in one propaganda grab bag all who showed energy or enterprise in exposing Communist tactics and explaining the evils of communism. The article was written in unmistakable exposé style, to give the impression there was something highly suspect and dangerous that should be uprooted and done away with, in disclosure of the devious ways by which the Reds are plotting our destruction.

It referred to "the so-called 'cold war policy' evolved by the National Security Council in the summer of 1958," thus setting up this training and alertness program as a primary target of the new anti-anti-Communist campaign.

The article began: "The Pentagon is having its troubles with right-wingers in uniform." Just who in particular was meant by "the Pentagon" was significantly not disclosed. But the article went into extensive detail on "the 'cold-war' activities" of commanding officers in implementing the directive. This has "caused alarm among the new civilian team in the Pentagon," the article declared, making it apparent that "the Pentagon" referred to was not the fighting force. The article follows:

RIGHT-WING OFFICERS WORRYING PENTAGON

(By Cabell Phillips)

(Special to The New York Times)

WASHINGTON, June 17.—The Pentagon is having its troubles with right-wingers in uniform. A number of officers of high and middle rank are indoctrinating their commands and the civilian population near their bases with political theories resembling those of the John Birch Society. They are also holding up to criticism and ridicule some official policies of the United States Government. The

most conspicuous example of some of these officers was Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, who was officially "admonished" for his activities by the Secretary of the Army earlier this week.

General Walker's offense was in saying that a number of prominent Americans, as well as elements of the newspaper and television industries, were tainted with Communist ideology.

He did this in the course of a continuing effort that the general said was "designed to develop an understanding of the American military and civil heritage, responsibility toward that heritage and the facts and objectives of those enemies who would destroy it."

General Walker was the commander of the Twenty-Fourth Infantry Division in Germany at the time.

POLICY SET 3 YEARS AGO

In his anti-Communist effort General Walker was operating under a three-year-old policy of the National Security Council. This called for a mobilization of all arms of Government—military, diplomatic, civilian—in the "cold-war" struggle.

Where the general went wrong, apparently, was in confusing his own political inclinations with the Administration's strategy for fighting the "cold war."

High officials at the Pentagon have said that they hope this example will have a restraining effect on other military men whose zeal in the same cause has been creating mounting embarrassment for them.

"No other disciplinary actions are being considered now," said Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs.

"It is no secret, however, that this sort of activity by representatives of the Defense Department has been a disturbing problem for us. We are trying to reach a more rational handling of this aspect of the 'cold war' effort than has been the case in the past."

The problem for the Pentagon arises out of the fact that a number of its higher ranking officers have participated in or publicly lent their support to a variety of so-called forums, schools, and seminars, ostensibly focused on the issues of national security. However, many of those groups—at least incidentally—are preoccupied with radically right-wing political philosophies.

STRESS ON ANTI-COMMUNISM

The chief ingredient of these philosophies is often a militant anti-communism. The argument is that Communist subversion today is rife among the schools, the churches, labor unions, Government offices and elsewhere, and that this is a far greater threat to national survival than the international aspects of the Communist conspiracy.

In this argument, liberalism is equated with socialism and socialism with communism. Thus it opposes most welfare legislation, many programs for international cooperation such as foreign aid and disarmament conferences, and any effort by this Government to seek accommodations with the Soviet Union. Such activities are depicted as a playing into the hands of the Communists, and sometimes as stemming from Communist subversion.

As part of such indoctrination, citizens often are urged to form their own groups to "educate" others about the Communist menace and to be alert in discerning Communist influences in their neighborhoods, schools, newspapers and local governing bodies.

The genesis of this problem goes back to the so-called "cold war policy" evolved by the National Security Council in the summer of 1958.

That was a year of mounting international tensions when Communist power seemed to be on the rise around the world. Vice President Richard M. Nixon was then the victim of assaults by Communist mobs during a good will tour of South America; President Eisenhower dispatched Marines to Lebanon to fend off Communist political aggressions in the Middle East; Communist China stepped up its artillery attacks on Quemoy and Matsu.

"COLD WAR" WIDENED

President Eisenhower and his top policy leaders decreed that the "cold war" could not be fought as a series of separate and often unrelated actions, as with foreign aid and propaganda. Rather, it must be fought with a concentration of all the resources of the Government and with the full understanding and support of the civilian population. It was decided, in particular, that the military should be used to reinforce the "cold-war" effort.

This was the substance of the still-classified "cold-war policy" paper of the National Security Council.

Its implementation in the Department of Defense was ordered through a series of directives and guidance papers, also classified, directed to the top civilian and uniformed authorities. These officials were told to take positive measures to alert the troops under their command and the public at large to the issues of national security and the "cold war."

How specific these directives were as to the particular tools and approaches to be employed in this effort cannot be learned. But commanding officers were supplied with literature and speech material and were required to report regularly on their "cold-war" activities.

However, it is known that commanding officers were allowed wide latitude in applying the directives within their commands.

Of the hundreds of military bases here and abroad, only a score have become involved in these programs to the point that they have caused alarm among the new civilian team in the Pentagon. Officials suspect, however, that the trend is somewhat more widespread than their reports currently indicate. They are quietly trying to find out how widespread it is.

A typical example about which they do know is a seminar labeled Project Action.

This was held at the Naval Air Station, Wold-Chamberlain Field, Minneapolis, on April 28 and 29 of this year. Capt. Robert T. Kieling is the commanding officer of the station. He was a co-sponsor of the program in collaboration with a committee of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Chamber of Commerce.

The official announcement described the program as follows: "The purpose of Project Action is to inspire the citizens of this area to take an active part in the war against the danger that threatens our freedom and American way of life."

"The program of talks and presentations by nationally known leaders for the cause of democracy will bring to light facts and figures concerning the rising crime rate, juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, the general degradation of morals, the complacent attitude toward patriotism and the tremendous gains the Communist conspiracy is making in this country * * *"

The United States Naval Air Station is making facilities available for the seminar at the request of the Twin Cities Council for American Ideals. Out-of-town participants are invited to take advantage of overnight accommodations on the air station. A nominal fee of 50 cents per person will be charged. The (seminar) fee of \$7.50 includes two noon meals.

Approximately 500 persons from the upper Middle West attended the two-day program. Among the lecturers who addressed them were Dr. Gerhard Neimeyer, University of Notre Dame; Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, Bradley University; Dr. B. N. Bengtson, Maywood, Ill., and two defectors from the Soviet Union. Several films were shown and literature was distributed purporting to explain the nature of Communist subversion, with particular emphasis on its attack upon American morals.

Among the scores of letters concerning Project Action that reached the Pentagon in the following days was one from a newspaper editor. It said in part:

"Perhaps someone can clear up for us our lack of understanding as to just how co-sponsorship of such activities fits in with the Navy mission, or the over-all military mission, for that matter. It must be admitted that the local Project Action is politically partisan in a very real sense, although the partisanship is not of the party label type."

Another example of these political activities concerns Capt. Kenneth J. Sanger, commanding officer of the Sand Point Naval Air Station, Seattle, Wash. His activities over the last year have aroused a storm of controversy. Hundreds of letters, supporting and condemning him, have poured into the Pentagon and Congressional offices in recent weeks.

In pursuing what he describes as a program of "moral leadership," on and off base, Captain Sanger has made wide use of two controversial films, "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on The Map."

The first film was produced by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a counter-weapon against those who sought last year to terminate its career. It depicts as Communist inspired and managed last year's student riots in San Francisco, where the committee held an inquiry. The message of the film is that Communist influence has infiltrated school life across the nation. Critics contend the film is distorted and misleading.

FILM MADE AT COLLEGE

The second film was produced at Harding College, Searcy, Ark. It shows the United States virtually engulfed in a world gone either Communist or socialist, including all of its NATO allies except Portugal. Among those whom the film narrator cites as responsible for this condition are President Franklin D. Roosevelt, for having recognized the Soviet Union, and Gen. of the Army George C. Marshall, for having "made possible" the Communist take-over of China.

These films and accompanying lectures by Captain Sanger and members of his "team" have been exhibited before hundreds of audiences, many of them composed of high school and college students, all over the northwest. Among the many letters condemning the program was one published in The Seattle Times of last March 22 from James I. Kimbrough, who wrote in part:

"My concern is not with Captain Sanger; my concern is with the concept which suggests that any branch of the armed forces is the appropriate vehicle for the dissemination to the civilian population, and particularly to our youth, of proper attitudes of patriotism and concern for our democratic ideals. This is the nut of the issue, not communism or anti-communism."

Among numerous other incidents that have been brought to the attention of the Defense Department is the "Fourth Dimensional Warfare Seminar" held in Pittsburgh on April 15. Among those listed as giving "assistance and support" to the program were Lieut. Gen. Ridgely Galtier, Commanding General, Second Army, and Maj. Gen. Ralph C. Cooper, Commanding General Twenty-first Army Corps, and their respective staffs.

Several of the main speakers were highly critical of the Government's "cold war" policies.

One, for example, Admiral Chester Ward, retired, was reported in the local newspapers as having said that "some of the advisers now surrounding the President" have philosophies regarding foreign affairs "that would chill the average American." He mentioned by name in this connection, Adlai E. Stevenson, United States representative to the United Nations, and George F. Kennan, United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Members of the seminar were given a list of eighteen points on "What You Can Do in the Fight Against Communism."

"This sort of thing, if carried far enough among susceptible people, can breed a wave of vigilantism and witch-hunting," one Pentagon official said. "Even Mr. Hoover of the F.B.I., whom nobody could call 'soft on communism,' deprecates these self-appointed counter-spies."

LEFT IN DELICATE POSITION

Civilian chiefs in the Pentagon find themselves in a delicate position with respect to this sort of activity in the higher uniformed echelons. They are disturbed by the right-wing views displayed by many of these officers. Yet, realistically they cannot either ignore the threat of Communist subversion or be tagged, as one of them put it, "as being against anti-communism."

"The real problem," he went on, "is one of proportion. Nearly every responsible official I know of thinks that the real war against communism has to be fought in the international arena as it's political, diplomatic, economic and in a limited sense, military. That, certainly, is the way the official policies of this Government are geared."

"When, as these fellows do, you change the target to looking for spies under the bed or in the P.T.A., you divert that much energy and support away from the main objective of the 'cold war.' And at the same time, you instill fear and distrust of our Government and its leader."

Reinforcing his point, he took from his desk a memorandum from Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, which has been circulated as "guidance" throughout the services. In part, it said:

"After the President has taken a position, has established a policy, or after appropriate officials in the Defense Department have established a policy, I expect that no member of the department, either civilian or military, will discuss that policy other than in a way to support it before the public."

The dilemma of these officials is deepened by two other considerations.

One is that the experience of the servicemen captured by the Communists during the Korean War revealed a serious gap in the moral stamina and the patriotic dedication of a good part of American youth.

This has greatly alarmed many military men who believe that the nation must breed a tougher type of soldier if it is to survive in another war. To many schooled

in the military discipline, there is a link between this moral and intellectual "softness" and certain social and political trends in American life over the last two decades.

The other consideration is that under the so-called "cold war policy" evolved by the National Security Council in 1958, commanding officers were encouraged to help stimulate a widespread public awareness of the challenges and problems of national security. Inevitably, many interpreted the national peril in their own political terms, and, like General Walker, shaped their attacks accordingly.

The new civilian team in the Pentagon has begun a careful screening of the vast amount of printed and filmed material used by the services in their programs of troop indoctrination and community relations. The only positive step they have taken so far is to ban official use of the film "Communism on the Map," and to relegate "Operation Abolition" to a "when-asked-for" basis of availability.

"But this sort of screening doesn't directly affect General X if he wants to make a speech about communism in the schools or play footsie with the Birch Society people," an official explained. "Unless he gets 'way off base, like General Walker did, we can't discipline him."

"There is a big gray area here where the difference between right and wrong—between saying too much and not saying too much—is terribly hard to distinguish. Who is to tell a three-star admiral how right wing—or how left wing—his political outlook can be?"

"Our best hope is that the extremists will begin to get the message themselves, as from General Walker and as from speeches of the secretaries, and use good judgment in what they say and do."

APPENDIX 6

The weekly Worker, published in New York and dated Sunday, July 16 (though appearing on newsstands July 14, a couple of days earlier), included the directive (signed by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States) outlining implementation for the Red Manifesto proclaimed in Moscow on December 5, 1960.

This occupied the double spread in the center of the paper. It struck out at the "ultra-right," offered the Pentagon's 1958 directive as a special target, and laid down tactics to be employed concerning President Kennedy and his administration.

Arrogant and obvious as the directive appears regarding the White House and the administration generally, it cannot be brushed off, because the Reds have given sufficient evidence of their skill and facilities in entrapping non-Communists and even anti-Communists into falling into step behind them on some major pro-Communist issues. Both Republican and Democratic Parties could be forewarned of such traps by finding out this easy way about the Red plan for them. There isn't anything new about the way Communists operate, any more than there was about the Nazis. Totalitarians of such type contemptuously proclaim their tactics, in confidence that the Free World, especially the United States, will be too dense to believe what it hears and reads, and unable to see through confusion deliberately fomented as a screen for the intrigue, and too flexible to adopt a firm stand, even if, at last, what is being perpetrated against them dawns upon them.

Gus Hall's directive flatly declares: "If the tactical problem is solved correctly, it will be possible to slam shut the door on the ultra-right, defeat it, and force a shift in policy upon the administration itself in the direction of peace and democracy." The Red aim is described here as plainly as Communist language can make it. The words "peace and democracy" are employed in their dialectical ma-

terialist sense, "peace" indicating the state of affairs which arrives where all sides accept communism, and "democracy" the police state form of dictatorship that prevails in the Soviet bloc.

Hall is as obvious as Khrushchev. His directive confirms that no conciliatory move, no negotiation, can possibly satisfy the Reds, except surrender to communism. They are willing to bargain on the form our capitulation to communism may take, but in no respect on whether we will give up or not. This must be accepted as, in their language, "inevitable."

The showdown can be delayed apparently, during what is called the "co-existence" period. This is the interval to which Hall refers in talking of a "tactical problem" to be dealt with, it being no less than the capture of the administration, as mad an objective as Khrushchev's own, which is to capture the American nation. We would disregard either boast at our peril, and in disregard of past experience with Red wishes.

The Red tactic is as simple as it is bold. The Communists intend to use whatever crackpot minority exists at the extreme American right—and we even have a minute, pathological group in Arlington calling itself the American Nazi Party, led by a clinical case called George Lincoln Rockwell—as a weapon to destroy opposition to communism in the United States, by employing the American left in a snowballing operation which would bring our moderates into a new "united front," as sought by the Reds, to make this conspiracy succeed.

The appearance of certain other articles, immediately following this additional clarification of Red aims, is not without significance.

Here is the Worker directive:

FOR PEOPLE'S UNITY AGAINST BIG BUSINESS AND WAR DANGER—THE ULTRA-RIGHT, KENNEDY, AND ROLE OF THE PROGRESSIVES

(Our readers are invited to send in their views and comments on this important policy statement by Gus Hall. Our pages are opened for such discussion and for reports of united front discussions and activities in Left and progressive circles)

By Gus Hall

General Secretary, Communist Party, USA

The threat from the ultra-Right continues to mount in the United States. At the same time, the Kennedy administration pursues a cold war, interventionist, and generally antidemocratic course. We are, therefore, confronted with a unique problem of how, under these circumstances, to carry on the struggle for peace and democracy most effectively. The problem can best be posed by a series of questions.

Is the threat from the extreme Right serious, in the sense that it is approaching the position where it can exert the decisive influence in government or itself make a bid for power?

What is the relationship between the ultra-Right and the Kennedy administration, and how are they different? Is it necessary to draw a line of differentiation?

These are complex and serious problems. Much can be learned from our own history, especially the New Deal period, and also from parallel situations in other countries, as in France. But there are also new and special aspects which need serious assessment. Here I propose only to begin such an assessment.

1. THE THREAT FROM THE ULTRA-RIGHT

In the opinion of the Communist Party, there can be no question but that the threat from the extreme Right is serious. It arises from a situation which is new for the United States. This, the most powerful capitalist country, cannot have

its way is a world in which the forces of socialism, national liberation, and peace are playing a decisive role. Continuing rebuffs and defeats for the cold war and interventionist policy (most recently in Cuba and Laos) confront the dominant monopoly power with a choice, essentially between two alternatives. One is to end the cold war and to seek some form of accommodation to the socialist and national revolutionary world, which would mean a turn to a policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. Such a shift of policy would meet the most urgent national needs of the country in the present period of world history.

The other course is to seek to contain and reverse world trends by all means, including so-called limited war and the ultimate nuclear war. It is necessary to recognize that the present cold-war policies of the Administration lead in this direction. However, we must also recognize that the most aggressive and extreme expression of this suicidal policy comes from the ultra-Right.

War is their prescription for the crisis facing the country. Senator Goldwater and Richard Nixon, contending for leadership of the Right-wing Republicans advocate a war course, as do their Dixiecrat-Democratic allies, like Senators Eastland and Smathers. They are ready to take any pressing world issue, whether it be Cuba or Berlin, as an occasion for starting military action. They actively and aggressively seek the brink. In fact, Nixon is now calling for resuming the Dulles brinkmanship policy.

The Fascist Network

In back of this political war-minded coalition, there is emerging in the country an organized movement of the fascist type, financed by the most chauvinist and aggressive sectors of Big Business. This is more serious than previous developments of this kind, and holds even a greater threat than the movement led by the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

For one thing, unlike previous fascist currents, the present movement is taking the form of a membership organization, in conspiratorial action groups, including secret military formations. The spearhead, the John Birch Society, is such an organization, around which is gathering a network of older hate groups, fascist sheets, and the White Citizens Councils and other die-hard racist groups of the South.

The fascist network is openly in a sort of division of labor, in conjunction with legislative committees, like HUAC and the Senate Internal Security Committee, and similar bodies in the states.

It is developing the demagogic characteristic of fascist movements, such as repeal of the income tax, and is also beginning to put forth anti-monopoly slogans to ensure middle-class dissent.

The fascist network openly contemptuous of democracy and the Bill of Rights, and advocates the right of "revolution"—that is, in fact, counter-revolution. It proclaims the aim of seizing political power. With considerable influence in government today, it is working to dominate it entirely.

Military-Big Business Complex

Another pronounced characteristic of this growing fascist movement is its spreading influence among the higher military personnel. The case of General Walker was only a symptom of a much deeper affliction. Even the Pentagon had to admit recently that it was "worried" over the extent of Birchite and similar influences among the ranking officers of the military services.

It is now known that a secret directive, issued by the National Security Council in 1958, instructed commanding officers here and abroad to "enlighten" both the armed forces and civilians in their areas on the "cold war policy." It was followed by additional guides and materials, still classified as secret, issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the basis of which seminars and meetings were organized by the military commands, often in cooperation with local business groups. Complaints have been pouring into the Pentagon against the political activities of the military staffs, especially their wide dissemination of Birchite propaganda and of the obnoxious films "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on the Map."

The entire line of policy, coupled with CIA and similar training in subversive and putschist activities, can not help but create our own "French Generals," who feel at home in fascist circles, and are ready to lend themselves to their objectives. It is an outgrowth of 20 years of militarization, of the close cooperation between the armed forces and monopoly in handling a \$40-billion budget annually, and of a desperation born of a bankrupt foreign policy.

This complex of monopoly and the military, nurtured on war economy, has diverted science to military uses almost entirely, buying out the main branches

of higher education and bringing within this web large sections of the student youth and intellectuals.

When you get this combination of high-ranking military officers, the fascist organizations in North and South, the Right Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, and deep inroads into governmental bodies and in the educational system, we can surely say that the threat from the ultra-Right is serious indeed.

The aim of this movement, shared by the varied elements of the ultra-Right and reaction, is the complete destruction of democracy, the wiping out of the main social gains won by labor and the people in the past decades, the suppression or subversion of independent people's organizations like the trade unions, peace groups, and Negro societies, and the incarnation of Jim Crowism and racism as a national creed—in a word, a garrison state that will seek to drive the country to war and self-destruction.

2. THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION

The policies and actions of the Big Business-dominated Kennedy Administration during the first six months played into the hands of the ultra-Right. In substance, the main direction of its blows has been against peace and independence, against democratic and civil rights, against labor.

In this brief period, the Administration managed to proclaim a policy of "paramilitary" intervention against national liberation movements, stepped up the arms race and the cold war, and launched the military adventure against Cuba. It sought to "cool off" the Freedom Riders, and has evaded legislative and executive action in the field of civil rights.

It invoked the Taft-Hartley law against the maritime strikers.

The Department of Justice declares the intention of the Administration to follow through on the fateful Supreme Court anti-Communist decisions by renewed vigorous prosecution of the Communist Party.

By proclaiming Communism the "real and imminent danger," President Kennedy has acceded to the central pretext under which the ultra-Right and fascist trends seek their aims, and has thereby stimulated reaction.

Not on Fascist Road

The Kennedy Administration pursues this course because it is dominated by the big monopolies and financiers whose interests it serves. This must be kept firmly in mind. Yet, while recognizing that it has taken measures which further curtail democratic rights, it would be a serious mistake to consider the Kennedy Administration as embarked at present on the fascist road.

To make the proper differentiation between Kennedy and the ultra-Right is the central tactical problem faced by the entire Left and all progressives. It is not simple. Kennedy is not a Roosevelt. Since his election, he has been moving in a reactionary direction. But it is not inevitable that he will continue along this path, giving ever wider openings to the ultra-Right.

If the tactical problem is solved correctly, it will be possible to slam shut the door on the ultra-Right, defeat it, and force a shift in policy upon the Administration itself in the direction of peace and democracy.

Kennedy's Contradictory Course

It seems to me we must always keep in mind the various necessities and commitments with which the Kennedy Administration must operate, and which the ultra-Right wants to ignore and shove aside.

The Kennedy Administration pursues a contradictory course which flows from the instability of the U.S. imperialist position, from the new relationship of world forces (the growing strength of the socialist, anti-imperialist, and peace forces), which it recognizes but does not fully and properly assess. Its wavering course results also from pressure of the masses of people in our country, particularly from the working class, the Negro people, the peace forces which have been its main support and which elected it.

This zig-zag, oscillating course is to be seen in a number of facts: For example, even while maintaining a cold-war policy, the Administration remains committed to a position of negotiation with the Soviet Union—as on Berlin, Laos, nuclear testing and disarmament. It is no small matter that Kennedy, despite all he said against it, had to resume talks with Khrushchev at Geneva, talks which had been ruptured by the U-2 incident.

It is also of significance that Kennedy decided not to back up the emigre invasion of Cuba with direct and open U.S. military support, as criminal and reprehensible as was his decision to go through with the military adventure, and as serious as

still is the danger of U.S. imperialist intervention. It is also noteworthy that Kennedy must still seek to maintain democratic and anti-colonial pretenses in his dealings with the national liberation movements, although his objective remains to contain and reverse them. This creates certain embarrassments for him in world affairs, in view of anti-democratic measures at home.

The Important Difference

It is of course true that these maneuvers, pretenses, and concessions are forced upon him by the strength of the world peace forces, by the deterioration of imperialism, by the declining world prestige and position of U.S. imperialism in particular, and by the deep-rooted peace and democratic sentiment of the American people.

But the fact remains that the Kennedy administration has not closed the door to accommodation to these world realities, as the ultra-Right wishes it to do, and this involves a certain recognition of the new necessities of the present-day world at home and abroad. This is an important difference, which the forces for peace and democracy must recognize and exploit in order to bring about the required change in national policy.

Turning to the domestic scene, we must also recognize that as a consequence of the elections and of labor, Negro, and liberal support, it is difficult for Kennedy to ignore his commitments in the field of social legislation, which the ultra-Right would like to cancel out entirely. As inadequate as his measures are, they have to be fought for in a reactionary Congress.

Shedding of Illusions

It is a good thing that many of the illusions about Kennedy in the ranks of labor, the Negro people and other popular circles are now being shed as a result of experience. I need only mention the deep cleavage, after the Cuban fiasco, among the liberals who supported Kennedy, the sharp criticism from labor following his use of Taft-Hartley, the scorn with which many Negro leaders and militants greeted the "cooling off" proposition with respect to implementing of the rights of Negro Americans, the vigor with which the youth movement fights the anti-democratic attack.

Moreover, there is a growing insistence in the ranks of labor and among other people's forces upon more adequate and far-reaching measures to meet the severe problem of mounting unemployment, which has become a permanent fixture affecting the lives of millions. The paltry measures of the Administration leave practically unsolved the many accounting social problems arising from automation, the impoverishment of entire regions, the permanent eviction of millions of farmers from production, the old and new slum areas, the special suffering of the masses of Negro, Puerto Ricans and other underprivileged Americans, the crisis of the educational system, and the chaotic conditions of the Metropolitan areas. Much more needs to be done to even approach the solution of problems of the aged, public health and the youth. The rising mass movements in the country bear witness to the growing determination of the people to find positive solutions.

It would be wishful thinking to assume that all liberal or forward-looking forces in the Kennedy camp, who must in their way participate in turning the tide, are equally aware of the double role played by Kennedy. These elements can become an effective positive force once they realize it is necessary to fight Kennedy's cold war and antidemocratic policies in order to defend democracy and to close the door to the extreme Right and defeat the threat from that direction.

AFL-CIO Cold War Resolution

We need to be aware that when people in large numbers become disillusioned or panicky there is always the danger that they may be entrapped by the demagoguery of the ultra-Right, especially when their leaders become the instruments or allies of monopoly. For example, the recent statement of the AFL-CIO executive council, drawn up by professional anti-Communists, supports the most aggressive warlike incitement in the so-called Berlin crisis, and even urges the resumption of nuclear testing.

Such a position can only have the most harmful effects upon the struggles of the trade unions themselves for economic and social demands, help the employers weaken the unions, and open the door wide to the ultra-Right type of demagoguery within labor itself. The council resolution, I am sure, does not represent the view of most trade unionists, nor even of all heads and officers of the unions in the executive council. It is about time that labor leaders with views closer to the feelings of the membership should speak out clearly against the cold war and reactionary position which is imposed by a small group at the top.

The Main Enemy

To sum up on this point, it seems to me that the way to meet the unique tactical problem presented by a threat from the extreme Right and by an Administration moving in a reactionary direction is somewhat along these lines.

It would be a serious mistake to underestimate the dangers to peace and democracy of the Kennedy Administration. It would be no less serious a mistake to under-rate the possibilities of pressuring it in another direction. It is essential to fight imperialism, war, and reactionary measures whether they come from the Kennedy government or the ultra-Right.

However, the situation requires that the main direction of the attack should be at the warmongering and fascist forces, who are pressuring the Kennedy Administration further to the Right. At the same time, every policy or action of Kennedy that plays into the hands of the Right should be sharply opposed and criticized, building up the pressures upon the Administration for a change of policy in the direction of peaceful co-existence and defense of democracy.

It is necessary to work for the widest united front of all labor, Negro people, peace and progressive forces in the country, embracing democratic elements of all political views, in a struggle against Big Business reaction and war danger. It is essential to organize a counteroffensive against Big Business attacks on the people—for improving conditions at the expense of the monopolists, for jobs, for equal rights for the Negro people, and above all for the preservation of peace and democracy. In all this, the working class, the labor movement, should be the basis.

As I have already said, this is not simple. But it can be done. It has been done before during the Roosevelt days, particularly because of the role played by a resurgent labor movement. It can be done again. It will take great efforts, sacrifice, and fighting spirit.

Above all, it requires a common outlook and united front activity in all fields by the Left and progressive forces, Communist and non-Communist. Without the unity of such forces in the ranks of labor, among the Negro people, in the youth movement, and among the fighters for peace and democracy, the promising popular movements now arising will remain disjointed and apart, prey to the mounting attacks of reaction.

2. LEFT-PROGRESSIVE UNITY

How is such unity to be attained? First, of course, it is necessary to reach a mutually agreed-upon outlook for the immediate period ahead, agreement on tactics and on programs. This requires discussion among all forces of the Left, in which past differences are subordinated to the need to find common ground to meet the onslaught of reaction. Still better, common action should develop around such issues and positions that can be immediately agreed upon, even while broader and long-range discussions proceed.

Attitudes to Communist Party

One of the obstacles in some parts of the Left is a sharply critical or negative attitude to the Communist Party. Some of it is of older social-democratic or Trotskyite origin, but another current is of more recent vintage. This is the product in one way or another of the intensified campaign by Big Business against communism, of the renewed reactionary attacks, and of the recent crisis in the Communist Party.

Undoubtedly, the Party crisis contributed to a certain disorientation in the Left. While I realize that this cannot be dismissed with a sweep of the hand, the fact remains that the new reactionary attack opened by the Supreme Court decisions has created a new situation both for the Party and the entire Left.

For example, how can the position now be defended that the Communist Party is no longer needed in the United States? Those on the Left who claimed this should think over how it is that the reactionary majority of the Supreme Court, for its own motives and reasons, came to a similar conclusion.

Naturally, we have refused to accept this judgment, whether it comes from the High Court or elsewhere. On the contrary, we have made clear our firm determination to defend the Constitutional rights of the Party against every effort of the Department of Justice to force us to comply with the monstrous registration and other provisions of the anti-Communist laws.

Is this a service or a disservice to the Left and to the cause of peace and democracy? Would it not be a disastrous setback to the Left and all forces of progress if those who wished to smash us or dissolve us had their way? Is not the launching of a new attack against us a signal that peace and democracy are in serious danger?

In fact, it was the clear fighting stand of the Communist Party which made possible the first victory in the struggle against the implementation of the Court decisions—the staying of the mandate pending consideration of the petition for rehearing in the Fall term of the Supreme Court.

A very important lesson is to be learned from this. No matter what one's attitude may be towards the Communist Party, it must be recognized that the fight for its rights as a political party is a matter of defending the Bill of Rights and all democratic rights, and is the concern of all, especially of all Left, democratic, and peace forces, and not of the Communists alone. This is an old lesson, but sometimes it has to be learned anew.

Role of Communist Issue

Therefore, I think it is clear that the Left and progressive forces cannot permit themselves to be split on the Communist issue, if there is to be unity and common action. Refusal to work with Communists for defense of peace and democracy and for the people's needs is the first step, sometimes the decisive one, in splitting the people's forces. It is the wedge driven into the ranks of labor and the people by reaction, as its most potent weapon against the popular movements.

Anti-Communist attitudes in the ranks of the Left and progressive forces can only have the result of contributing to the aims of reaction by spreading the kind of ideological confusion that can render the moving forces of the people helpless and ineffective.

Therefore, if unity is to be attained in the ranks of the Left as a means of stimulating wider activity—if such unity means anything—it must be unity of Communist and non-Communist forces, with the give and take that is required to reach minimum agreement. If there is one thing everyone should have learned from the history of the past decades it is the stalwart and indispensable role of Communists in the struggle against reactionary and war forces.

United Front Electoral Policy

Finally, let me emphasize what I think is a central objective toward which all forces on the Left are striving. If the tactic outlined in the previous section is correct, and I think it is, the need for an independent electoral policy for the Left and progressive forces around which broader peace and democratic forces can be mobilized, assumes extraordinary importance.

The Left and progressives, including ourselves, have not given this the seriousness it requires, for which we have not refrained from criticizing ourselves, as can be seen from our report to the national committee in January of this year.

The municipal elections in New York and other cities present an opportunity which should not be missed to take the initial steps toward an independent united front electoral policy, around the central issues of peace, equal rights, the people's needs, and democracy. In evolving such a policy and united front electoral tickets, we should also look ahead to the elections of 1962 and 1964, with the aim of presenting meaningful alternatives to labor, the Negro and other people's forces in terms of their needs and interests. This is a big task, and needs the unstinting attention and energy of the Left and progressive forces in all fields.

Action Needed Now

I am confident that the onslaught of reaction can be repulsed, and the country again set on the course of peace and democracy. The Communists, for their part, are ready to join with all other Left and progressive forces to establish the perspective and unity that is required if reaction is to be defeated and peace defended.

The Communists have no self-serving interest in urging unity of Left and progressive forces. Everyone recognizes that such unity is needed to defeat reaction and end the cold war. The situation itself begs for common actions, united fronts, and broader parallel movements—all serving the cause of peace and democracy.

It seems to me imperative that Left and progressive forces should not lose a moment in beginning now to find the common meeting ground, in fraternal discussions, for the united front approach and programs leading to common action for common objectives.

There should be a coming together of such forces in the ranks of labor, in the Negro rights movement, in the youth movement, among the advocates of peace. The effort should be made wherever possible, in the localities and cities and communities, not waiting for a nationwide development, but contributing to it, building up the movement, giving it a living base on which it can flourish.

It is my hope that all elements and currents of the Left will set such a movement into motion, that in their publications and organizations discussions of this kind should proceed. I am convinced that once this is set in motion, it will grow and spread with a speed and depth that will surprise all of us.

APPENDIX 7

A Marquis Childs column was published in the Washington Post of July 14 that was remarkable in two respects: for its timing as well as its content. Its timing was perfectly geared to the shift into high in the anti-anti-Communist drive. It dealt with the main points in the campaign to liquidate the anti-Communist movement generally, especially by pulling the carpet out from under the Pentagon program.

Of significance for those interested in the role "leaks" play in "paywar" pressures, is its reference to: "A memorandum recently sent from Capitol Hill to the White House and thence to the Department of Defense." Of equal significance is its snide allusion to "an Eisenhower directive of 1958, still in force, that put the military in the business of helping to alert Americans to the need for an over-all war strategy."

These points are major ones in the Gus Hall directive. The memorandum was further clarified in the New York Times and Washington Post in articles a few days later, on July 21.

This propaganda barrage is evidence of the finesse with which coordination and follow-through are employed in pursuance of Red strategy in its anti-anti-Communist drive.

The column follows:

BIRCHITES FINDING ALLIES IN MILITARY

One of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's goals is to make sure that the military is not playing politics under the guise of educating the public "to the menace of the cold war."

It was an Eisenhower Administration directive of 1958, still in force, that put the military in the business of helping to alert Americans to the need for an over-all cold war strategy. This was a radical departure from American tradition which has held that the place of the military in American life is strictly limited to the professional task of training and equipping the armed services for the Nation's defense.

A memorandum recently sent from Capitol Hill to the White House and thence to the Department of Defense suggests that, with the directive as a justification, some of the military are aiding and abetting the "radical right" which at the extreme end of the political spectrum is represented by the John Birch Society. This goes so far as to include opposition—implied if not open—to programs such as foreign aid championed by both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy.

There is particular sensitivity about the foreign-aid issue, since the President is currently and somewhat belatedly trying to rally the widest possible support for his proposal to expand the scope of the foreign-aid program. For the radical right and certain of its military allies, spending for foreign aid is not merely a waste but perhaps downright subversive. Men in uniform have taken a leading part in, and in some instances have initiated, the memorandum points out, "Alerts," "Seminars," "Freedom Forums," "Strategy for Survival Conferences," and "4th Dimensional Warfare Seminars."

The content no doubt has varied from program to program," the study notes, "but running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sell-outs,' 'appeasements,' etc. Radical right-wing speakers dominate the programs.

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism and the latter with communism. Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of Social Security (particularly medical care under Social Security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy, would be characterized as steps toward communism."

The memorandum cites several examples. One was a "4th Dimensional Warfare Seminar" sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Pittsburgh "in cooperation with various military organizations in the Pittsburgh area." The principal speaker was an Adm. Chester Ward (ret.) who was quoted as saying that "some of the advisors now surrounding the President" have philosophies regarding foreign affairs "that would chill the typical American." He referred to Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson and Ambassador to Yugoslavia George F. Kennan by name.

A year ago the United States Naval Air Station at Glenview, Ill., initiated an "Education for American Security" school. The speakers were for the most part professional anti-Communists who earn their living by specializing on the "danger from within" theme.

The fear of congressional and other critics of this approach is that far from uniting Americans in the face of a grave threat from the Communist challenge everywhere it has the opposite effect. By creating fear, suspicion and hatred it sets Americans against each other. Hammering on the theme of infiltration and internal subversion, it suggests that professional agencies such as the FBI have failed to protect the Nation. Or, conversely, it implies that security agencies, preferably military, should be put in charge of indoctrination of the civil population.

A proper step has just been taken in putting the activities carried out within the scope of the directive of 1958 under the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. If the military is to take part in this kind of activity it should at the very least be coordinated with the programs the Government is actively sponsoring.

There is little sense in one arm of the Government undercutting the policy that another arm of Government is trying to implement. The net effect is to make this country look so confused and so frightened as to be unable to contemplate the realities of the present-day world.

APPENDIX 8

The extraordinary synchronization in the Red anti-anti-Communist drive was vividly exemplified by an article that covered the top half of the first page in the editorial section of the Sunday Washington Post on July 16.

The article, signed by Edward T. Follard, was given a banner headline entitled: "American 'Right' Embraces a Curious Mixture." If one sought implementation of the original Red Manifesto's summons, and the tactics in support of it as just published by Gus Hall, here it was. How this could come about, what specific links existed in the shadow world of Red "psywar", what exact strings were pulled far behind, are of course beyond this analyst to say, certainly beyond the ken of the Washington Post feature writer. But this much is obvious: it is impossible for this to have been without propaganda links, for there not to have been any "psywar" string-pulling.

Indeed, this sort of propaganda orchestration is what the so-called scientific propaganda pressures of modern "psywar" are supposed to achieve. The players know only the conductor in front of them, and he may be totally ignorant of who selected the music, arranged the program, and why. The extraordinary orchestration in the articles that preceded and appeared in leading newspapers and magazines about the time of the Gus Hall statement is in fullest accord with the new "unity" line of the Red Manifesto, which instructed the Communist Party to ignore ideological differences in building up support for the position taken by the Moscow-Peking-through-Havana Axis.

The Washington Post feature of July 16 follows:

AMERICAN "RIGHT" EMBRACES A CURIOUS MIXTURE

By Edward T. Follard

Staff Reporter

In this summer of 1961, clouded as it is by Soviet Premier Khrushchev's threat of war over Berlin, Americans are engaged in a strange controversy over the strength of communism at home.

Some of the foremost students of Red activity in the United States—notably the Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S., of the National Catholic Welfare Conference—say that the Communist Party in this country has been "drastically weakened." They say that the area of Red danger now is not at home but abroad.

However, right-wing activists like Robert Welch of the Birch Society insist that "our danger remains almost entirely internal, from Communist influence right in our midst and treason right in our Government." They say that the Red menace at home is now at a peak danger point.

To Father Cronin, the "surprising upsurge" of alarm over domestic Reds at this time is a paradox. He believes that even the claimed strength of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—10,000—is exaggerated.

A CALCULATED ASSAULT

But this is not merely an intellectual matter, a clash of viewpoints. Right-wing groups, refusing to accept the view that the danger is primarily overseas, are in full cry against the Kennedy Administration's program for foreign aid to thwart the spread of communism, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

They are also demanding that the United States pull out of the United Nations, repeal the 16th Amendment (which authorized the Federal income tax), invade Cuba, bring home the five American divisions in West Germany and "be prepared to stand alone."

The political right in this country is held down by a curious agglomeration representing a broad spectrum of ideas and relative degrees of respectability. Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and his adherents are there. But there, too, are people whom Goldwater would detest and people who say that Goldwater is "tainted with socialism." Also there are citizens, many of them wealthy, who are outraged by big government and the heavy tax bite on their bankrolls. On the extreme right are the "hate groups" made up of men and women who invariably call themselves "patriots" and "true Americans" and pour their venom not only on Reds but on "niggers and Jews"—and who, furthermore, question the loyalty of any who disagree with them.

EMBARRASSING DUALITY

There is some overlapping on the right, of course, and this is often a cause for embarrassment. One of the most active and eloquent spokesmen for the aforementioned money-minded group is Brig. Gen. Bunker Fellers (USA, Ret.), who was military secretary to Gen. Douglas MacArthur in World War II.

He has his headquarters at 1001 Connecticut Ave. N.W. and he wears two hats. That is, he is national director of "For America" and also of the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee."

As the "For America" spokesman, Gen. Fellers calls for repeal of the Federal income tax. He says also that the United States must end peacetime conscription, maintain "overwhelming air power" and "get the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S."

"For America" also favors congressional investigations "into Communist-socialist activities" and an end to compulsory unionism.

In testifying on Capitol Hill recently for the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee," Fellers urged the return of American troops from West Germany. Appearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee June 21, he argued against the Kennedy Administration's foreign aid program and also against this country's "lavish" support of European nations which help make up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"At all costs, it is imperative that we be prepared to stand alone," he said. To this end, he criticized President Kennedy for not spending more on air power. How the United States would be able to finance air power, or any kind of striking power, if "For America" had its way and the income tax were abolished, is hard to figure out.

Gen. Fellers also told the House committee that foreign aid ought to be held to less than \$1 billion. Other members of "For America" and the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee" are much more vehement than Fellers on this subject.

Spruille Braden, of New York, who was Ambassador to Argentina for a short period in 1945, has said, "Truly, foreign aid is a treacherous if not treasonous adventure."

Braden is one of 16 men and women who are members of both "For America" and the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee." Among these 16 are two other well-known military figures besides Fellers—Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer (USA, Ret.) and Lieut. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer (USAF, Ret.).

Others are J. Bracken Lee, former Governor of Utah and national chairman of "For America"; Dean Clarence Manion, formerly with Notre Dame University; Samuel B. Pettengill, former Republican House member from Indiana, and Mrs. Garvin E. Tankersley of nearby Maryland.

At the headquarters at 1001 Connecticut Avenue, "For America" is described as a political activist group and the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee" as a lobbying organization. The committee appears to be well-heeled.

Heading it as national chairman is Walter Harnischfeger, chairman of the board of the Harnischfeger Corp. of Milwaukee, producer of earth-moving and lifting equipment used in nearly every corner in the world. Another prominent committee member is Willard F. Rockwell, chairman of the board of the Rockwell Manufacturing Co., and Rockwell-Standard Corp. of Pittsburgh, which in 1959 had more than \$400 million in sales.

THE FLUORIDATION FACTION

Whatever may be thought of the views of such men, not all of them are in the same class with those who are still farther to the right. These not only favor abolition of the income tax, withdrawal from the U.N. and scrapping of foreign aid, but they call for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, agree with Robert Welch's charge that Gen. Eisenhower in his White House days was "a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy," and charge that the fluoridation of water is a Red plot to poison and weaken Americans.

Is there a resurgence of political strength on the far right? No, according to Herman Edelsberg, Washington representative of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

"There has, of course, been a measurable increase in activity—and recently an even greater increase in publicity—but there's no evidence of a growth in underlying, lasting strength," Edelsberg says.

"Some new faces have cropped up on the right, but the group picture looks much the same. The names of the organizations may be new, but the slogans are old and frayed."

"After all, how far can the John Birch Society go on a program of fighting communism by impeaching the Chief Justice of the United States, denouncing the loyalty of Mr. Eisenhower and abolishing the income tax?"

"It may not be fashionable now to be optimistic about the power of reason in human affairs, but I believe that in this basically healthy America the Birch nonsense is self-defeating. True, our history shows a wide tolerance of political quackery, but in the showdown such movements have always broken up on the rock of American commonsense and fair play."

"The Birch Society carries another liability—it has a fatal attraction for the lunatic fringe. Its leader, Robert Welch, has gone to some pains to disassociate the society from the anti-Semites and other bigots, but it is no reflection on his sincerity to note that inevitably he has failed. So long as his group is based on exploiting anxiety, suspicion and mistrust, so long will it provide the climate and soil in which the professional bigot flourishes."

"There has always been a small minority of Americans who will not believe that our national difficulties and frustrations may be the result of powerful, impersonal tides in economics and politics but will insist on seeing history, particularly unpleasant history, as a conspiracy of secret plotters whom they can self-righteously hate. I don't believe this group has grown significantly larger in the last year. The trouble is that this is a most dangerous time to have our national ills diagnosed, and prescribed for, by witch doctors."

The extreme right-wingers are angry with Father Cronin for saying that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is no longer much of a threat, but they find it difficult to challenge his credentials. He is a Red hunter from way back and, unlike so many others, an effective one.

Father Cronin was professor of philosophy and economics at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore when, in 1940, he began looking into Communist infiltration in labor unions. In 1944 he made a more general study of Red activity for the Catholic bishops of the United States.

Earl Mazo, in his biography of Richard M. Nixon, relates that it was from Father Cronin that Nixon, then a freshman House member, learned about Alger Hiss.

Now, Father Cronin says that "the problem of internal security had been substantially taken care of by 1950." The date is significant, for it was in 1950 that the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) began his career as a Red hunter. By that time, Father Cronin says, Communists had been cleaned out of the Government and out of labor unions.

What disturbs Father Cronin at the moment is a fear that today's Red hunters will weaken the Nation by questioning the loyalty of those who disagree with them. He mentioned this in a notable article he wrote for the April 22 issue of America, the Jesuit weekly review.

"Unfortunately," Father Cronin wrote, "several anti-Communist organizations in the United States today not only fail to distinguish between judgment and loyalty, they actively assail the loyalty of those whose views they oppose. They envision a vast, secret, conspiratorial Communist apparatus that is widely subverting Government, schools and universities, research organizations, the churches and the various media for affecting public opinion."

"Nor are they willing to let their targets off with the relatively mild indictment of being unwitting dupes of the Communist conspiracy. They are eager to allege formal, not merely material, guilt."

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is not one to downstate the threat of Communists in the United States. But even he is concerned about the thing that bothers Father Cronin—that is, the reckless charges Americans are hurling at one another. In the FBI Bulletin of April, Hoover said:

"The label of 'Communist' is too often indiscriminately attached to those whose views differ from the majority. Those whose lives are not led according to what one segment of society might decree to be the 'norm' are too frequently challenged as 'Rede'."

D. W. Brogan, professor of political science at Cambridge University, who knows the United States well, wrote an article for Harper's in 1952 that might possibly explain the attitude of some Americans who, filled with anger and frustration, put the blame on home-bred Reds.

Brogan entitled his article, "The Illusion of American Omnipotence," and explained:

"This is the illusion that any situation which distresses or endangers the United States can only exist because some Americans have been fools or knaves."

Many, very many Americans, it seems to me, find it inconceivable that an American policy, announced and carried out by the American Government, acting with the support of the American people, does not infallibly succeed.

"If it does not, this, they feel, must be because of stupidity or treason."

Also, there would seem to be people who have a need to hate, sometimes because of their own frustrations and failures. Stendahl remarked in "The Red and the Black" that it was only a step from anger at oneself to rage at others.

APPENDIX 9

Every so often, an old note is struck along with the new, in support of the anti-anti-Communist drive. The Washington Post located a former Soviet agent, who had been around for some years now, interviewed him, and ran him on the first page. Did he say anything new and startling? What he said or how it sounded in the interview, was the old cliché that anti-Communists are "spreading confusion" and are "more valuable" to Moscow than Red agents.

His interview took the additional line that anti-Communist activity, especially in the Pentagon, was a reflection of Birch Society views and was the "fanning of religious and religious conflict." Just to make this amazing example of modern journalistic enterprise complete, it took a vicarious slap at congressional inquiry into communism.

This was page 1 news for July 14, under a two-column headline fitting neatly intheto expanded anti-anti-Communist drive. Here is the article:

EX-SPY SAYS ANTI-REDS AID SOVIET AIMS IN U.S.

By Russ Guntaitis

Staff Reporter

A former Soviet spy in Czechoslovakia believes that anti-Communist groups spreading confusion in the United States are more valuable to the U.S.S.R. than bona fide Reds seeking secrets.

Anatoli Granovsky, 39, who was a captain of political intelligence in the Ministry of State Security of the Soviet Union in 1945 and 1946 and earlier had been a member of the Soviet Secret Police (NKVD) said in an interview here:

"The Soviet Communists would sacrifice a thousand American Communists to save the John Birch Society, for instance. I don't mean the Birch Society is Communist-infiltrated. It doesn't have to be. By discrediting prominent Americans, it confuses the population about whom to trust.

"In socializing Czechoslovakia (which fell to the Communists in 1948) we did everything to divide the armed forces units trained by the British and the Americans.

"In 1948 there was very little armed forces resistance because the American-trained tank units and the British-trained air force had been replaced by Communist-trained men."

This objective was accomplished by spreading rumors about officers until they were so thoroughly discredited their men would not obey them and they had to be removed, Granovsky explained.

The Soviets also used tactics to divide Protestants and Catholics, Czechs, Sudeten-Germans and Slovaks, and to discredit businessmen, he said.

Czechoslovakia was a highly developed country, the only one in Eastern Europe to maintain a democratic form of government between the two World Wars, and had a high standard of living.

"Not just backward countries, but any community or country can thus be destroyed," declared the former NKVD man.

Therefore fanning of religious and racial conflict, attempts to discredit the Central Intelligence Agency and to promote rivalries among the branches of the armed forces aid the Communist cause, Granovsky said. He added:

"If the time and energy of decisionmakers is absorbed by armed services squabbling, their mobility and strength is drained and there is no need for Soviet agents to influence American generals."

Granovsky also believes that the House Un-American Activities Committee should be abolished. "Counterintelligence work cannot be done by semi-amateurs," he declared.

Son of a Soviet Central Executive Committee member who was purged, the former spy fled to Sweden in 1946 and later made his way to Brazil where he wrote a book, "All Pity Choked," about his experiences. It was published in London in 1955.

He has wandered around in the United States for two years, doing odd jobs in various cities. He said he came to Washington recently, hoping to cure a peptic ulcer and find work.

APPENDIX 10

The Reporter magazine, in its July 20 issue, ran a 4½-page article by its executive editor, Philip Horton, entitled "Revivalism on the Far Right." This was an all-out operation, that outsmeared anything it had attacked in the past by using the word "McCarthyism," now employed by it as a Pavlovian trigger word in propaganda, without relation to anyone dead or alive, except through sheer coincidence.

"Guilt by association" is said to be held in horror in Reporter circles. Certainly the tag has been freely used by them as a propaganda weapon when it has to do with the uprooting of Reds. But

now, employed to uproot anti-Communists, it has been made into a tactic used more than any other in this new Red drive. Indeed, it is the most characteristic part of the anti-anti-Communist campaign. This Reporter article is a vivid example of it.

One organization it attacks this way has always leaned over backwards to avoid implication in anything that might be considered unfair to any individual, forbidding the naming of names, keeping out extremist literature of any kind. Philip Horton was able to find something devilish even in this. He analyzed it as a sort of round-robin smear, that sought to convey the impression that "there are communists everywhere you look. . . ." When an anti-Communist deed or person is to be attacked, presumably all is grist to the mill; one can be damned for doing something, or for not doing it.

The Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, referred to here, has been immune to attack hitherto. The article associates it with extremism, nonetheless. No matter how, any criticism of communism apparently must be roundly condemned in accordance with the Red anti-anti-Communist drive. The similarity between the propaganda pitch used, and the numerous outlets it has obtained in the press, would be impossible without there being some central source for it. A comparison of the Reporter outburst with others published about the same time shows a fantastic similarity, that cannot be brushed off as accidental.

The article, too, is an example of an intriguing tactic in the manipulation of words. Words and phrases that have favorable connotation in ordinary language are likely to be put in quotation marks, giving them a sinister slant. This tactic is being met with more and more. It is being done in Communist literature to distinguish words in their so-called bourgeois sense, as found in our dictionaries, from words that the Reds regard as correctly employed in their dialectical materialist meaning. Failure of non-Communists, and even anti-Communists, to put words, when used in a Red sense, inside quotation marks is responsible for a large amount of the enemy's success in putting across its misinformation and propaganda.

The Reporter article in its first column uses quotation marks, for instance, when referring to "schools" and "seminars", if these are anti-Communist. Other words enclosed in quotation marks are "doctors", "scientists", and "authorities". In each case, a slur is achieved on some anti-Communist. The article ends up with an attack on the projected Freedom Academy Bill, that would provide a West Point for psychological warfare.

The Reporter piece follows:

AT HOME AND ABROAD—REVIVALISM ON THE FAR RIGHT

By Philip Horton

A Texas insurance man named William P. Strube, Jr., who is on the faculty of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, stood before a blackboard. "Here's a Communist," he said as he tapped a piece of chalk on the clean board: "Here's one—here's one—there's one. Get him! Sick him! Sock him! Kick him! Have I attacked anyone? Besmirched their character or anyone else?" Strube, who is second in command to Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, leader of the Crusade, takes obvious pride in the fact that he names no names and so cannot be accused of libel or defamation. It is not clear, however, whether this particular virtue is due to scrupulousness on Strube's part or to a feeling that it is useless to bother besmirching mere individuals by name, since there are Communists everywhere you look these days anyway.

BIRCH BARK AND SNAKE ROOT

And it's not only the Communists you have to sock and rock but also those who follow the Communist line, which Strube has defined as "anything, be it word, action, or deed, or lack of same, whether written, spoken or performed by Communist, non-Communist, or an anti-Communist that aids the Communist in his program of world conquest." With so many people to fight and so many actions or lack of them to halt, it is no wonder that Strube and his fellow evangelists are busy recruiting zealous believers up and down the land.

The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade is not alone in this battle; aside from the John Birch Society, there are also the National Education Program, the Christian Crusade, and many lesser outfits. Although the various traveling "schools" and "seminars" of the new anti-Communist movement on the far right are not formally connected with the John Birch Society, their preachers, prophets, and "doctors" of uncertain academic background often function as advance men for the establishment of a Birch group in a given community. "You know," Fred Schwarz said recently of Robert Welch, "I sometimes get the notion he follows me around the country signing up people after I have worked them up." Welch is not unappreciative. "The Fred Schwarz schools," he declared last spring, "have already done a superb job of providing this preliminary education."

What sort of education is being provided by these ever multiplying and highly successful itinerant schools? The Christian Crusade, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and the National Education Program, which is run by Dr. George Benson, president of Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas, are all in agreement with the general beliefs of Welch that liberalism equals socialism, that socialism equals Communism, and that our greatest danger is from infiltration and treason at home. The essence of their message is that the Communists, having promised to dominate the world, already are far along the road to conquering the United States because of their success in taking over our schools, universities, community institutions, youth organizations, and government itself. *The complete Communist victory in the United States is imminent.* Dr. Schwarz says 1973 and Strube says 1966. Indeed, *Communism on the Map*, a recorded lecture illustrated by film, made and distributed by the National Education Program and already attended by ten million Americans, presents a picture of the United States surrounded by a hostile world and ready to fall. It explains that countries like France, Sweden, and Norway are for all practical purposes in the Communist camp right now. For those who may not understand the relationship between socialism and Communism, the narrator points out that U.S.S.R. stands for Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Communist tide sweeps across the map, and the only countries that do not turn visibly red in the course of the talk are Spain, Switzerland, and the United States, which is left with an ominous question mark at the end.

Despite the direness of the international situation as these groups see it, and despite the stress they put on their own roles as "scientists" and "authorities" in the field of international Communism, the crusaders suggest few measures to deal with Communism as an international problem, except such diplomatic moves as getting the Soviet Union out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S.A. Some of them even assert that our military program is a fraud. For since the main threat comes from within, our own military defenses are, in Welch's words, "wasteful measures of a phony defense against an external enemy." These single-minded anti-Communists have, to be sure, contributed some astonishing insights concerning the Soviet conspiracy. Dr. Schwarz, for example has pointed out that his special understanding of the Communist mind and of Communist history makes it clear to him that any number of executed officials—Beria and the Czechoslovakian Jewish leaders—ordered their own deaths to help promote world Communism.

But of course Dr. Schwarz's principal interest is not in what happens abroad but in fighting world Communism at home. The *Christian Century*, which sent a representative to one of the Crusade's seminars in Glenview, Illinois, reported that the "enemies" slain by Dr. Schwarz and his fellow lecturers included "liberals, modernists, John Dewey, Kirtley Matlier, Harvard students, high school students, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, textbooks, the American Friends Service Committee, pacifists, the book sections of the New York Times and the Herald Tribune, Elmer Davis, public libraries . . . beatniks, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and native ministers."

To help reverse the trend toward Communism in the United States, Dr. Schwarz and his colleagues have adopted techniques reminiscent of evangelists and patent-medicine salesmen, rousing their audiences to an awareness first of the horrors of "satanic Communism" and finally showing the way to salvation. "Christians! to arms," cries Dr. Schwarz. "The enemy is at the gate. Buckle on the armor of the Christian and forth to the battle." There is, of course, a good deal of imaginary gunplay. Schwarz has described how we shall ultimately be shot by the Communists ("When they come for you, as they have for many others, and on a dark night, in a dank cellar, they take a wide bore revolver with a soft nose bullet, and they place it at the nape of your neck," and so on), and Welch has issued a stern directive to his members to fight any legislation requiring registration of firearms, since "no dictator-tyrant can long rule a people previously accustomed to freedom where private firearms are plentiful among its citizenry."

Despite Welch's interest in firearms, most crusaders seem interested only in getting copies of their own books and films into the hands of their audiences. At about the same moment that any competent revivalist stops his hellfire and invites his flock to make the decision for Christ, Strube stops describing the Communist devil to ask his listeners if they have heard enough. Do they want to do something about it? What can they do? "Study, study, study," Strube tells them, and, handily enough, he can offer Dr. Schwarz's books at the modest price of \$2.50 for a set of four.

This combining of the techniques of evangelism with those of plain pitchmen is also typical of Dr. Billy James Hargis, whose writings inspired references to the politics of the Protestant clergy in a controversial Air Force manual that was withdrawn from use last year, and who is the leader of the Christian Crusade ("America's largest anti-Communist organization"). Dr. Hargis has lately arranged a tie-in between anti-Communism and a restorative product called "Nutri-Bio" which his crusaders may sell along with their message. As one disciple explains it, "The practice of good health habits is of great importance in the fight against Communism."

Naturally, the fight against Communism requires more of its soldiers than good health. Mobilization and organization of a community or part of a community—Houston boasts a "Teens Against Communism" program—with a view to influencing local institutions appears to be the chief aim not only of the John Birch Society but of the other anti-Communist concerns. Their literature abounds in manuals on how to go about organizing a local group. Perhaps past experience has led the Schwarz Crusade to advise in one such manual that members with an "obsession about a particular phase" not be allowed to gain control of the group. The particular "obsession" to be avoided was that of individuals who "believe Communism to be a long-time secret conspiracy of some group of men, religious sect, or race, that have been over thousands of years trying to conquer the world."

While the success the Birch Society has enjoyed in setting up clandestine student groups to act as political vigilantes in the universities is fairly well known and the results of its prodigious letter-writing campaigns have received national attention, the less publicized efforts of the Schwarz group have been equally impressive. Last year the Texas office of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade offered 314 lectures to sixteen thousand students and forty-six thousand adults. Together with other "faculty" members, Vice-President Strube also lectured in many other states. "On the average," he says, "I am speaking three hundred days a year." According to Dr. Schwarz, the Crusade program has been taught in a thousand American high schools. One instruction manual calls for "ten thousand groups of 17 each" and claims that already "over 1,000 groups organized in accordance with this manual in the past two years." Available figures tend to bear out Dr. Schwarz's claims. In 1957, the gross receipts of the Crusade, a tax-free organization, were \$63,000. In 1958 they were \$115,000. By last year they were \$380,000, and Dr. Schwarz predicted recently that he would take in more than \$1,000,000 in 1961.

The Schwarz Crusade has its headquarters in Long Beach, California, and maintains permanent offices in Houston, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Sydney, Australia. These are the command posts that control the flood of literature and the management of the traveling "schools" that are provided for any community or business group or governmental agency willing to underwrite the cost. They also offer complete instructions for organizing permanent community groups to search out and counter Communism in their neighborhoods.

Dr. Schwarz's "faculty" varies with the size and importance of the community. A major stand will feature the top man himself, supported by other "authorities."

on Communism, including an orthopedic surgeon, several former FBI agents, former Communists, a former police chief, and an insurance man. In one major "school" Dr. Schwarz delivered eight lectures. ("Why Millionaires, Ministers of Religion, and College Professors Become Communists" and "How to Debate with Communists and Fellow Travelers" are typical titles.) In addition to his activities with the touring schools, Dr. Schwarz has lectured to the staff of the House Un-American Activities Committee, in the Texas legislature, and at the National War College, as well as on many naval and army bases. Dr. Schwarz, who received his doctorate from Queensland Medical School, is generally billed in his native Australia as one of the foremost experts on Communism in the United States. When he is in the United States, he is frequently referred to as one of the foremost experts on Communism in Australia.

YOU CAN'T LAUGH IT OFF

Any tendency to dismiss the labors of Drs. Schwarz, Benson, and Hargis and Mr. Welch as idle rantings on the lunatic fringe will not survive a realistic appraisal of two factors: their growing influence in the schools and their prestige among certain elements of the armed forces. Dr. Benson's workshop, for example, issues a set of moving pictures for use in junior and senior high schools. In a number of them the narrator is Dr. Clifton L. Ganus, vice-president of Harding College, which is in many ways the intellectual center of all the new right-wing movements. In "A Look at Communism," for grade 12, Dr. Ganus is shown speaking from the National Education Program's headquarters at Harding College as he tells the students that "many thousands of Communists" are in high places in the United States and are influencing the actions of "patriotic Americans." In another film recommended for Grades 8 through 11, Professor Ganus reports that a fifth column is working among Americans to undermine confidence in private ownership.

These materials often get into the schools when a "crusade" strikes a community. In San Diego, for example, a major Schwarz "seminar" (five days) was followed in short order by a "Freedom Forum" under Dr. Benson's leadership and a presentation by Dr. Hargis. The San Diego, La Mesa-Spring Valley, and Chula Vista Elementary School Districts, it was learned, used public funds to have school administrators attend the "seminars," and the National Education Program materials purchased by the San Diego Unified School District for \$4,245.61 have now become a regular part of the public-school educational materials there.

Similar inroads have been made in other school districts across the country, especially in the South and West. In Dallas the superintendent of schools, W. T. White, said that a recent Freedom Forum led by Dr. Benson had helped to "jell" a project that he announced in early December: the Dallas Independent School District would teach a course on "Ways to Fight Communism," using books by J. Edgar Hoover and assorted materials from the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Elsewhere in Texas a group of local businessmen banded together to provide a free lecture series for teachers on their brand of "Americanism" and later offered \$10,000 to school systems that would teach "Americanism" with materials they supplied. Many Texas schools now use such funds and privately subsidized materials. In Illinois the superintendent of Glenbrook High School has said that he ordered "half a dozen scholarships" to make it possible for students to attend a Schwarz "seminar" held at the Glenview Naval Air Station.

Although many of the crusaders regularly attack the usefulness of the national defense program, some of their most ardent support appears to come from high-ranking officers. A number of them regularly attend sessions at Harding College and Drs. Schwarz and Benson frequently lecture at military bases. From these training centers, both military and civilian personnel have then been sent into nearby communities to organize local campaigns.

The evidence suggests that the involvement of the military is not a casual one. Item: In Corpus Christi, Texas, a community "alert" was led by Rear Admiral Louis J. Kira, chief of Naval Air Advanced Training at Corpus Christi. The main speaker at "Citizens Alert Day in Corpus Christi"—as proclaimed by the mayor of the city—was William Strube, vice-president of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

Item: Dr. Schwarz, whose book *You Can Trust the Communists* bears an enthusiastic endorsement by Marshall S. Roth, Major General U.S.A.F., held a Crusade "seminar" at the Eighth Naval District headquarters in New Orleans, where the commandant of the district at that time, Rear Admiral W. G. Schindler, said, "I am delighted to lend my support to this noteworthy seminar."

Item: When Dr. Schwarz held a similar "forum" in Houston, Admiral Schindler's successor, Rear Admiral F. B. Warders, gave the keynote address.

Item: On April 14 and 15 at a "Strategy for Survival Conference" held at Fort Smith, Arkansas, Dr. Ganus of Harding College told an audience of about one thousand, "Your [Congressional] representative in this area has voted eighty-nine percent of the time to aid and abet the Communist Party." Among those who helped to set up the conference was Major General William C. Bullock, head of the XIX Army Reserve Corps area, covering Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Item: On April 15 the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Pittsburgh, with the aid of some of the largest industrial firms in Pennsylvania, sponsored a seminar on "Fourth Dimensional Warfare" which sharply attacked important government policies and urged community action to "identify public officials displaying 'softness' toward Communism." The conference staff acknowledged "the assistance and support" of Lieutenant General Ridgely Gaither, Commanding General, Second United States Army, and his staff; and of Major General Ralph C. Cooper, Commanding General, XXI United States Army Corps, and his staff.

BRINGING THE NEWS TO GLENVIEW

The manner in which these connections with the military can apparently grant a semi-official status to Dr. Schwarz and his forces was illustrated last year in Glenview, Illinois. Last August, leading citizens of Glenview received large envelopes bearing the official U.S. Navy return address and mailed under the franking privilege. Inside were invitations to participate in one of Dr. Schwarz's five-day seminars, to be held in an auditorium on the Glenview Naval Air Station. Navy personnel and their families also received notice of the seminar. "Attendance is not compulsory," it read, "but every man, woman, and student who volunteers participation will acquire the experience, poise, and know-how which we hope will permeate into discussion groups being organized in every community of the midwest."

As a result of complaints lodged by some of the citizens of Glenview, the American Civil Liberties Union drew up a bill of particulars and sent it along with a letter of protest to the then Secretary of the Navy, W. B. Franke. It was not proper, argued A.C.L.U., "for the commanding officer of the base to conduct such a school, for another naval officer to direct it, or for the Navy to attempt to influence public opinion of the general civilian public on moral, spiritual, educational and political issues." In his reply the Secretary conceded that officers of the naval air station "went somewhat further than may have been appropriate" and reported that he had ordered the Glenview Air Station to cease extending official sponsorship of such activities. The Secretary added, "I am sure that you do not consider that information regarding the dangers of the international Communist conspiracy is 'political propaganda' which should not be given to the American people." Two months later, despite the ban, another appearance by Dr. Schwarz at the naval-base auditorium was announced, and the commanding officer, Captain I. M. Hampton, has continued to be a featured speaker for rightist groups.

Naval air stations on the West Coast have been involved in similar activities. In Seattle, Captain Kenneth J. Sanger, commanding officer of the Sand Point Naval Air Station, using such familiar exhibits as *Operation Abolition and Communism on the Map*, launched a one-man crusade in local schools, churches, and civic organizations that soon created deep divisions in the community. During the ensuing controversy Captain Sanger received a public letter of reprimand and support from Vice Admiral Robert Goldthwaite, Chief of Naval Air Training at Pensacola, Florida, who was himself engaged in helping to organize similar indoctrination courses for civilians in Florida and elsewhere in the Southeast.

The Pensacola effort, called "Project Alert," is a good example of how the combined activities of anti-Communist zealots and the military often succeed in creating a quasi-permanent community agency. According to its own publicity releases, Project Alert, was initiated late in 1959 "with the help of the staff of the Chief of Naval Aviation Training . . . and with the aid of Glenn A. Green and the staff at Harding College's National Education Program." (Mr. Green is vice-president of the W.E.P. and an enthusiastic member of the John Birch Society.) A series of indoctrination programs were created as the first step of a powerful campaign to bring the message into every corner of the city. In the months that followed, thousands of Pensacolans attended project rallies, listened to Project Alert radio and TV broadcasts, read Project Alert literature. A Project Alert library was created of films, tape recordings, books, and pamphlets.

Once the program was firmly established, the school officials and the P.T.A. county president were named to the Project Alert executive committee, which in due course was able to announce: "As evaluated by the school principals' committee, Project Alert materials were judged suitable for students as far down as the fifth grade."

By May of this year, Project Alert had achieved one of its major goals. The Florida legislature, with only one dissenting vote, passed a bill requiring all high schools in the state to teach a course on the evils of Communism. The originator of the bill, Representative George Stallings, Jr., said he would recommend as the basic textbook for the course *The Naked Communist*, by W. Cleo Skousen, former chief of police in Salt Lake City and a prominent member of Dr. Fred Schwarz's traveling "faculty."

The eagerness of certain military figures to participate in the proliferating crusades of the anti-Communist revivalists may in some measure be explained as dutiful obedience to orders. In the summer of 1955 the National Security Council produced a policy paper calling for the mobilization of all government resources and of public opinion at large to oppose Communism. The original paper and most of the follow-up orders from the Defense Department to the armed services calling for implementation of the policy are still classified and will probably remain so, but it is apparent that the new civilian leadership of the Pentagon is taking steps to avoid any possible misunderstandings in the future. An order has gone out forbidding the presentation of *Communism on the Map* and permitting the display of *Operation Abolition* only on request.

The Defense Department will soon release its own film on Communism after a review by historians and State Department officials. Other films produced by the Defense Department will stress the strength and importance of democratic institutions. On May 28, Secretary McNamara took a further step in modifying the earlier policy; at a press conference on problems of public information he stated: "In public discussions all officials of the Department should confine themselves to defense matters. They should particularly avoid discussions of foreign-policy matters, a field which is reserved for the President and the Department of State. This long established principle recognizes the danger that when Defense officials express opinions on foreign policy, their words can be taken as the policy of the government." Presumably this goes not only for Assistant Secretaries but also for generals and admirals.

THE U.S. BRAINWASHERS

The notion that there is some foolproof "science" for combating Communism is not confined to military technicians. It seems to have spread among members of Congress too, many of whom would have little use for the quack "science" peddled in the laboratory of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

In February of 1960 and again in 1961, a United States Senate Bill was proposed "to create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy to research and develop an integrated, operational science to win the nonmilitary part of the global struggle between freedom and communism and to train Governmental personnel, private citizens, and foreign students in this science." No one seems quite sure what this "science" may turn out to be, but the bill's sponsors—Senators Mundt, Douglas, Case (New Jersey), Dodd, Smathers, Goldwater, Proxmire, Fong, Butler, Hefner, Cooper, Miller, and Keating—all seem to agree that it is necessary for our survival: "We must develop a science of counteraction, which enables us to plan rather than to improvise—and we have no such science. We must have trained political warfare cadres—and we have no such cadres now."

In addition to running the new institution of higher learning, the Freedom Commission would conduct research and publish textbooks and other materials, including training films, suitable for high school, college and community level instruction. Senator Dodd, in a speech supporting the bill, said that he "would like to see our colleges and universities send one or more members of their faculty to the Freedom Academy for at least a year, so that on their return they could organize similar courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels. . . . I would like to see history teachers and social science teachers attend two-month summer courses sponsored by the Freedom Academy."

In other words, in addition to training those who must bear the heavy responsibility of fighting Communism where it actually threatens us, the Freedom Academy would provide a massive inoculation against Communism among Americans. To some this emphasis may seem somewhat out of balance, especially considering how uncommon the disease is here at home. Does Senator Dodd mean that

in our schools and our communities the job of guarding against the dangers of Communist—and fascist—infiltration should be taken over and monopolized by graduates of the Freedom Academy? Are we being asked to assume that men and women who do not care to join the Freedom Academy's "political warfare cadres" care less about our freedoms than those who have shown enthusiasm for such a project?

Some of the sponsors of the Freedom Academy bill have made it emphatically clear that threats to our liberties can come from the Right as well as the Left. Before the bill comes to a vote these senators—in fact, all of their colleagues—may conclude that the whole project deserves some very careful second thoughts.

APPENDIX 11

With their usual display of ingratitude, with which the Reds embarrass those who have tried to play fair with them, or collaborated, the weekly *Worker*, which went on sale July 21, though dated July 23, ran an article boasting that it had been the source of the press campaign in which, like a wolf pack, attacks were being made on "the insidious alliance between military leaders—active and retired—and rightwing groups in the United States."

The article, which could be the million-and-first lesson for the gullible, follows:

MIDWEST WRITERS CONFIRM MILITARY-RIGHT WING TIES

CHICAGO.—During the past several years *The Worker* has regularly spotlighted the insidious alliance between military leaders—active and retired—and rightwing groups in the United States. The *Worker* was the only national newspaper to report on the activities of the Institute for American Strategy and its annual Military-Industrial Conferences.

The *Worker* also was the only national publication to expose the Glenview Naval Air Base "anti-Communist seminar" last September.

In a July 13 dispatch to the St. Louis Post Dispatch, Marquis W. Childs reports a memorandum submitted to the White House and the Defense Department which cites the close alliance between the Right Wing groups and the military.

Activities at the Glenview Naval Air Base in suburban Chicago, speeches by Rear Admiral Chester Ward, ret. (Washington head of the American Security Council) and an Arkansas "seminar" dominated by Harding College of Searcy, Arkansas, a notorious rightwing center of activity, are cited.

On July 13 Thomas B. Ross, writing in the Chicago Sun-Times from Washington, reported:

"The movie (*Operation Abolition*) was brought to the Pentagon's attention last year by a reserve officer attending a seminar at the nearby National War College under the direction of the Institute for American Strategy, a non-profit group in Chicago.

"The Institute's sponsorship was dropped by the Pentagon for this year's seminar which is now being held under direct control of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

To assure his readers that anti-Communism is not being dropped as a key part of the Pentagon's "educational program" Ross concludes by saying, "the defense department is also now making its own anti-Communist films."

The Institute for American Strategy has been exposed as being an alliance between some of the biggest names in American industry, including some former leaders of the America First Committee, and the military leaders.

Admiral Arleigh Burke, who up to a few weeks ago, was one of the Pentagon's Chiefs of Staff, spoke at the last session of the Institute in Chicago, *The Worker* reported.

The same issue of the *Worker*, dated July 21, printed this photograph of articles in the May 14 *Worker* and the July 12 Drew Pearson column, and boasted in a caption underneath: "You read it first in *The Worker*."

APPENDIX 12

On July 21, the Washington Post ran a dispatch quoting from a memorandum which it said had been prepared by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for its chairman, Senator Fulbright. The article was credited to David Burnham, a United Press International writer. The dispatch said the memorandum had been made available to UPI the previous day, and quoted from it, including a warning that purported rightwing activities resulting from a National Security Council 1958 directive in the Pentagon might lead to excesses like that of the revolt of the French generals. The memorandum apparently was referred to in the Marquis Childs column of July 14, also in the Washington Post, and the 1958 directive in the New York Times of June 18, where the press drive to extend the anti-anti-Communist drive to the Pentagon seems to have been launched. The article follows:

STUDY ASSERTS MILITARY RIGHTISTS RAISE OBSTACLES TO KENNEDY PROGRAM

By David Burnham
United Press International

A Senate Foreign Relations Committee memorandum has warned that right-wing propaganda activities by military officers may create "important obstacles" to President Kennedy's programs. The study, prepared for Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) was made available to United Press International yesterday. The report said there was "considerable danger" in allowing the military to continue its present involvement in certain types of political campaigns in the United States.

STUDY CITES 11 CASES

The staff study included a list and capsule description of 11 cases of "education and propaganda activities of military personnel" which have been uncovered during the last year.

"These propaganda activities," it said, "may well become important obstacles to public acceptance of the President's program and leadership, if they are not already."

A second congressional committee has launched a behind-the-scenes investigation of the activities mentioned in the Senate report, it was learned.

The memorandum said the nature of the various propaganda activities has varied. "But running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration," it said.

The report said the "thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism."

"Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program . . . under this philosophy would be characterized as steps toward communism," the memorandum continued.

"This view of the Communist menace renders foreign aid, cultural exchanges, disarmament negotiations and other international programs as extremely wasteful if not actually subversive," it said.

The memorandum said that during the long haul of the cold war that "radicalism on the right can be expected to have great mass appeal. It offers the simple solution, easily understood: Scouring of the devils within the body politic, or, in the extreme, lashing out at the enemy."

Staff investigators with the second congressional committee said the recent rash of political propaganda activities apparently stems from a top secret directive issued by the National Security Council in 1958.

Immediately after the directive was sent to the Pentagon, they said, the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued an order directing the services to establish individual cold war programs.

DREW PEARSON

Birch Aid Toured with Benson

Chicago's AMERICAN

EDITORIAL PAGE

STUART LEE, Publisher
Largest Evening Home Delivered
Circulation in Chicago and Suburbs

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1961

Smashed—Do you believe that United Nations is a communist plot and is working to the best interests of our country?

Anderson—Next to the Communists, I think it is our greatest enemy.

Smashed—Why?

Anderson—I do not believe in co-existence. It is as nonsensical as fried snowballs.

Despite these views, Benson took Anderson with him on two trips in Military Air Transport Service planes which cost the taxpayer \$100,000. As an "honorary" member of the committee, Benson was not even allowed to see the planes.

MY 2 THE WORKER, SUNDAY, MAY 14, 1961

Racists, Birch Group Meet in Chicago

For an. Last they be writing off so actions of crackpots, one should keep in mind that one of the main speakers, John Anderson, edits a magazine (Farm and Ranch) with a readership of 1,500,000.

At least 375 newspapers carry his racist rantings in a column called "Straight Talk." Anderson, a member of the top council of the John Birch Society, has two heroes — Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's secretary of agriculture, and Robert Welch.

From Salt Lake City, Mayor J. Bracken Lee, came to the gathering that included racists and anti-semites to mouth the

Top billing for the three-day meeting held in the Morrison Hotel went to Editor Anderson. Here are some exact quotes from his speech:

"Racial co-existence is an immoral fraud."

"I am a segregationist."

"Down in Washington there is Mr. Sam No. 1 (Rayburn) and Mr. Sam No. 2 (Sammy Davis)."

"There is no other country in the world except the U. S. which treats its minorities better, especially 'Niggers.' (Like all chauvinists Anderson can't bear to use the word, Negro, properly pronounced.)"

The Senate study called on President Kennedy to reconsider the 1958 National Security Council directive.

It also called for an examination of the relationships between the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy, the Richardson Foundation, the National War College and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

It said this examination should try to determine whether "these relationships do not amount to official support for a viewpoint in variance with that of the Administration."

While admitting that the parallel might seem "far fetched," the report mentioned the revolt of the French generals as "an example of the ultimate danger."

APPENDIX 13

The New York Times returned to the attack on July 21, with another article by Cabell Phillips that started on the first page and continued inside for a column. This declared that "restraints" had been placed on Pentagon officers as the result of the memorandum from Senator Fulbright.

The article follows:

U.S. CURBS OFFICERS IN RIGHT-WING TALKS

(By Cabell Phillips)

WASHINGTON, July 20.—The Defense Department has issued a directive placing restraints on the freedom of military officers to advocate right-wing political theories in official public appearances.

This action resulted from a critical memorandum from Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, to the White House and to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Mr. Fulbright is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The memorandum, written a month ago, came to light today.

It cited a growing pattern of high military officers engaging in or sponsoring a variety of "educational" programs ostensibly designed to familiarize both their troops and the civilian community with the problems and issues of the "cold war." Such programs, it was contended, often veer into "Right-Wing radicalism," which expounds positions that are at variance with established goals and policies of the Government.

Shortly after the receipt of the Fulbright memorandum, and a subsequent conference between the Senator and Mr. McNamara, a directive was issued reinforcing the authority of the assistant secretary for public affairs to provide "policy guidance [for] . . . the conduct of any information programs directed in whole or in part to the general public."

HOUSE PANEL INQUIRY

Another outgrowth of the memorandum, it was learned today, was the decision by the Government Information subcommittee, headed by Representative John E. Moss, Democrat of California, to open its own inquiry into the field. A spokesman for the committee said today that the group has completed a staff study of what he described as "Right-Wing propaganda by the military."

He also said that a field investigator would start on-the-scene studies next week covering a number of Army and Navy installations in this country.

Senator Fulbright refused comment today beyond saying that such a memorandum had been prepared for his use by the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee and that he had transmitted it to the Secretary of Defense.

However, it is known that his concern, as well as that of Representative Moss, is directed exclusively at so-called "extremists" among military officers who utilize the public anxiety over the "cold war" to stir up extravagant fears about the dangers of Communist subversion within the Government and among domestic institutions.

SOME SEMINARS EXCLUDED

They exclude from their concern those "cold war" seminars and institutes that stay clear of partisan political implications.

The twenty-two-page Fulbright memorandum cited a dozen instances in which military officers either participated in, or actively sponsored, a variety of "forums," "seminars," "schools" and "alerts" designed to increase public awareness "of the nature of the Communist menace." It went on:

"The content no doubt has varied from program to program but running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this, or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sell-outs,' 'appeasement,' etc. Radical Right-Wing speakers dominate the programs."

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism. Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of Social Security (particularly medical care under Social Security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy, would be characterized as steps toward communism."

"This view of the Communist menace renders foreign aid, cultural exchanges, disarmament negotiations and other international programs as extremely wasteful, if not actually subversive."

"COLD WAR" DIRECTIVE

The memorandum noted that much of the activity complained of had been justified on the ground that it was in implementation of a "cold war" directive of the National Security Council prepared in 1950.

"The view of the menace of the cold war described above already has a great appeal to the public. If the military is infected with this virus of Right-Wing radicalism, the danger is worthy of attention. If it believes the public is, the danger is enhanced. If, by the process of the military 'educating' the public, the fears of both groups are raised, the danger is great indeed."

Among the recommendations offered by Senator Fulbright were the following:

That the "cold war" directive be reconsidered.

That the White House and Pentagon cease treating such propaganda activities as isolated disciplinary problems by bringing them under stricter civilian control.

That the role of the National War College in providing instruction on "cold war" problems be reviewed, and particularly the relation to the college of such private groups as the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy and the Richardson Foundation.

The Defense Department directive, which was issued on July 10, falls short of encompassing all these recommendations. In effect, it does no more than reiterate the broad responsibility in the field of education and information of the assistant secretary for public affairs.

But among the special functions it spells out is his authority to provide "guidance" for all informational programs "directed in whole or in part to the general public."

APPENDIX 14

The Baltimore Sun published an article, 1½ columns long, starting on page 1, from its own correspondent, and the two Washington newspapers ran Associated Press articles on July 22, regarding statements by Senators Fulbright and Thurmond concerning the role of Pentagon officers in the anti-Communist training and alertness program.

The Baltimore Sun article follows:

OFFICERS' PUBLIC TALKS DEBATED—FULBRIGHT, THURMOND TILT AS TO RIGHT-WING SLANT

(By Joseph R. L. Sterne)

[Washington Bureau of the Sun]

Washington, July 21.—Two Democratic senators argued in separate press conferences today about the propriety of military officers identifying themselves with right-wing political thinking.

Senator Fulbright (D., Ark.) charged that high-ranking generals and admirals are sponsoring education meetings "heavily weighted" toward the idea that the country is threatened by internal communism and socialistic domestic programs. Asserting that the military "should be kept as far as possible from this sort of thing," Fulbright confirmed reports that he had sent a criticism of these activities to President Kennedy and Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense.

FULBRIGHT DRAWS REBUKE

Fulbright's action drew a rebuke from Senator Thurmond (D., S.C.), who described it a "dastardly attempt" to muzzle and intimidate American military officers.

"In the Defense Department among the military personnel lies the real bastion of knowledge and understanding of the Communist threat, an understanding and knowledge long since lacking in the White House, the State Department and other agencies of the national Government, if we are to judge by their actions," Thurmond declared.

"If the military teaches the true nature of communism, it must necessarily teach that communism is fundamentally socialism," the South Carolina Senator continued.

"When socialism, in turn, is understood, one cannot help but realize that many of the domestic programs advocated in the United States, and many of those adopted, fall clearly within the category of socialism.

"RIGHTLY TEACHING TRUTH"

"Military leaders in this case are rightly teaching the truth, and as is often the case, the truth can and does hurt."

Thus, Thurmond gave his support to the very activities of the military about which Fulbright complained.

In his memorandum, the Arkansas Democrat reportedly warned that the theories of Rightwing radicalism "could create serious obstacles" to the President's program.

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism," said the Fulbright document.

CITES INTERPRETATION

"Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of social security (particularly medical care under social security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy would be characterized as steps toward communism."

Another Fulbright statement that aroused Thurmond's ire was his complaint that military officers are blaming international difficulties on the "appeasement" and "sell-out" policies of the Government.

"I hope the charge is correct," said Thurmond, a reserve major general, "for it reinforces my belief that our military officers do understand the threat from communism, and are giving their personnel the truth."

The Fulbright-Thurmond controversy centered on the implementation of a 1950 National Security Council directive urging military officers to instruct their troops and the public on cold-war issues.

SAYS THEY SPONSORED THEM

Fulbright contended that on the basis of this directive certain military officers had sponsored meetings in which rightwing civilian organizations took a major part.

He said such organizations had a perfect right to press their views, but held that they should not do so "under the auspices of generals and admirals."

The Arkansas Senator said much of the political philosophy expounded at these meetings was reminiscent of a decade ago when the nation was concerned with Communist infiltration, particularly in the schools.

As a result of the Fulbright memorandum, the House Government Information Subcommittee is making an investigation and Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, has been directed to give "policy guidance" on the conduct of military educational programs.

The Associated Press article that follows is taken from the Washington Star, which gave it much more space than its morning com-

patriot, which focused on Senator Fulbright with a headline: "Fulbright Scores Brass on 'Extremist' Talks."

The article:

FULBRIGHT, THURMOND CLASH ON SPEECH MEMO

By the Associated Press

Two Democratic Senators are at odds over a confidential memorandum from one of them to the Defense Department.

Principals in the case are Senators Fulbright of Arkansas and Thurmond of South Carolina.

Senator Fulbright said yesterday that he had sent the memo to Secretary of Defense McNamara objecting to military sponsorship of meetings featuring "extremist speeches" by outsiders.

"The point I wanted to make," Senator Fulbright said, "was that it is not the traditional role of the military to sponsor meetings weighted to one side of a political subject."

Senator Thurmond, at a news conference following Senator Fulbright's remarks, denounced the memorandum as "a dastardly attempt to intimidate the commanders of United States armed forces."

Senator Fulbright said the principal theme of some meetings sponsored by generals and admirals has been "that the greatest danger to this country is internal communism, and that communism has infiltrated our schools and our churches and dominates our Government."

RESTRICTIONS FOLLOWED

Senator Thurmond, a major general in the Army reserves, termed the memo an effort to prevent United States commanders from teaching their troops "the nature of the menace of world communism."

The memorandum was followed by new Defense Department restrictions on top military men, instructing them to stick to military matters in their public speeches.

Senator Thurmond said: "In the Defense Department among military personnel lies the real bastion of knowledge and understanding of the Communist threat, an understanding and knowledge long since lacking in the White House, the State Department and other agencies of the national Government, if we are to judge by their actions."

"Suppression of the military's dissemination of this knowledge would be disastrous."

Senator Fulbright said the memo was prepared for his personal use by the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which he is chairman, but was in no sense a committee document.

He said he sent copies to President Kennedy as well as to Mr. McNamara and believed "someone at the Pentagon" had leaked its contents.

When reporters asked for a copy, Senator Fulbright said he did not know where they could get one "unless you get it from the Defense Department—they apparently have duplicating facilities."

Senator Thurmond said he was relieved to learn that the Foreign Relations Committee had not joined "in this damaging action." Senator Thurmond is a member of the Armed Services Committee, but not of Senator Fulbright's group.

Senator Fulbright said he took the position that extremist speakers and societies have a right to say what they like but that "the whole point of this memorandum is that the military should not be the sponsor or lend its prestige to such meetings."

HAS NO QUARREL

He said he had no quarrel with military officers instructing their own personnel on the menace of communism but added:

"It is traditional that the military is not the agency that instructs the American people."

Senator Thurmond said he felt many United States policies smack of appeasement. He mentioned the continued suspension of nuclear weapons testing, lack of adequate power behind the Cuban invasion, and talk of recognizing Outer Mongolia.

Asked if he would term Senator Fulbright an appeaser, Senator Thurmond said he had no comment on individuals or personalities.

"If what I say affects anybody," he added, "it is just too bad."

APPENDIX 15

The New York Times on July 24 ran an editorial indicating that "rightwing" Pentagon officers were casting doubt on the value of American rearmament, declaring the Communist menace was in the United States, not abroad.

This was a new tack in the anti-anti-Communist line. There has been no supporting evidence—indeed the contrary. Military officers, the same as civilian observers, stressed the universality of the Red menace, pointing out that a Communist is just as much an enemy wherever he locates, and must be spotted wherever he operates, in or out of the United States.

Here is the editorial:

OFFICERS AND POLITICS

After some prodding by Senator J. W. Fulbright, the Defense Department has issued a sensible directive curbing the freedom of military officers to advocate Right Wing political theories in official public appearances. The available evidence suggests that only a small number of officers have been guilty of such indiscretion, but even a tiny breach of the American tradition that the military does not mix in politics is too much.

It is nonsense to argue, as has Senator Strom Thurmond, that the effect of the order is to prevent military commanders from teaching their troops "the nature of the menace of world communism." As Senator Fulbright's memorandum points out more accurately, the problem has arisen because some officers have adopted the Right Wing radical technique of "equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism." Given such a weird assumption, it is no great step to jump to the conclusion that the social welfare program of the Kennedy Administration is somehow "Communist" and "subversive." It is the propagation of this kind of extremist fantasy by a few officers on active duty and acting in their official capacities which needs to be stopped.

The function of our armed forces is to protect this nation from foreign enemies. It is to counter the menace of Soviet rockets, jet planes and hydrogen bombs that we have spent such enormous sums on our armed forces and their equipment these past years. But the thesis of the Right Wing radicals is that the real menace is internal, and that infiltration of Communists into our governmental and other institutions is the danger which must be combated. What makes the present problem so baffling is that this kind of flight from reality would logically imply that we have been wasting money by our expenditures on the armed forces, and instead we should be transferring billions of dollars to agencies to fight internal subversion. We don't believe even a small number of responsible military officers accept such transparent foolishness.

APPENDIX 16

The Nation magazine, in its July 26 issue, ran a three-page article from the west coast, entitled "New Right in Action." It was written in the now familiar roundup manner, categorizing the entire anti-Communist movement in the United States as extreme rightist, and purporting to expose it.

The article, as a number had done, pointed out the big impact of the anti-Communist movement. Much of the material, obviously as scare material, would only appear so to persons already conditioned into believing there is something essentially wrong in teaching people how to avoid Communist propaganda traps, and the evil and danger in communism. Otherwise, what is written in these articles, to the dismay of their authors, if they realize it, probably had the opposite effect on many readers, creating a favorable instead of an unfavorable

response. Average Americans, even readers of self-styled "liberal" publications, are good citizens, as anxious as any others that their liberties be maintained and protected.

This Nation article, as the one in The Reporter of July 20 (see Appendix 10), boasted that orders to softpedal or suppress the anti-Communist program had come from highest circles in Washington. The Nation said: "... objections were being raised in high places to this sort of political activity on the part of the military. Both President Kennedy and the Defense Department had made it plain that statements of policy coming from the military must henceforth be cleared by higher civilian authority." The Reporter article declared: "... it is apparent that the new civilian leadership of the Pentagon is taking steps to avoid any possible misunderstandings in the future."

The administration's position was obviously being interpreted as opposing the program that came out of the Korean war, to train and alert our people to recognize Communist traps and to know how to preserve their mental and physical stamina under Red pressures. Just who was spreading this impression and the rumors was unrevealed.

The Nation's article was written by a husband and wife team, Alex Gottfried, described as "a political scientist at the University of Washington," and Sue Davidson, "a member of the American Friends Service Committee and of the ACLU."

The article follows:

NEW RIGHT IN ACTION

By Alex Gottfried and Sue Davidson

It was not until January of this year, with the ubiquitous appearance of that profitable box-office double feature, *Operation Abolition and Communism on the Map*, that rightwing activities in the Northwest reached proportions sufficient to alert and alarm liberals in this area. Unpublicized signs and portents, however, had appeared much earlier.

During 1960, Captain Kenneth J. Sanger, commandant of the Sand Point Naval Air Station, began to extend his Navy "leadership training program" to include programs on "Americanism" and "anti-communism" for Seattle junior and senior high school students. Sanger also maintains a volunteer speakers' bureau of Navy men, to lecture on "good citizenship" to civilian groups; it has presented a total of 233 talks in less than a year. Last fall, a group whose leadership has ties with the national organization, "We the People," began a campaign to introduce the Navy's "citizenship" program into the suburban schools. They prevailed upon the principal of the Bellevue High School to call a meeting of some fifty suburban principals and heads of social studies departments, to hear Captain Sanger speak on the Communist menace, and to view *Abolition and Map*.

One of the teachers who attended this meeting wrote to Senator Henry M. Jackson, questioning the appropriateness of the military's invasion of this area of civilian life. Shortly thereafter, Captain Sanger complained to the suburban principals about the teacher's letter. The teacher was told by his principal that his teaching effectiveness had been diminished by communication with his Senator and, further, by his "identification" with the American Civil Liberties Union—consisting of a two-dollar associate membership.

The two films, in the meantime, had begun circulating quietly and efficiently to a great number of church groups, PTAs, service clubs, schools and military installations. They were shown repeatedly to personnel at the Boeing Airplane Company. Most progressive leaders here, however, had their first opportunity to view *Abolition* at the Washington State ACLU's annual meeting of December 15. The film was accompanied by a critique by one of the student leaders of the San Francisco demonstrations, of which it purports to be a documentary account.

Local distribution of the film was popularly attributed to Boeing, Puget Sound Power and Light, and the Missionary Film Service, a private distributor of

fundamentalist films, hitherto not associated with political materials. At the ACLU meeting, a representative of Boeing admitted the firm's active participation, as well as his own role, in the promotion of the film; defended it; and disclaimed any knowledge of distortions or inaccuracies in *Abolition*. Boeing executives were to persist in this attitude during the coming months, even in the face of earnest protests by a few prominent, highly-respected local citizens, Republican as well as Democrat. By February 26, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, Boeing possessed six copies of *Abolition*, had shown it two hundred times, and was booked solid for showings until May. The Boeing management's expressed confidence in the accuracy of the film was somewhat compromised by its reluctance to allow showings under circumstances where it might be criticized: when a member of a Friends' young adult group requested use of the film, he was informed by a Boeing security officer that "we don't care to cooperate with people like you."

It was Professor Giovanni Costigan, of the University of Washington History Department, who unveiled the twisted message of the filmstrip, *Communism on the Map*. On January 24, he arranged a showing to a large faculty group. A statement about the film, prepared by Dr. Costigan, expressed shock at the filmstrip's "irresponsible mingling of fact and falsehood" and its "gross distortion of historical events." Ninety-two faculty members signed the statement; and statement and signatures were released to the local press, which printed the item a good deal later.

A few days after the faculty screening, the Young Democrats of the University of Washington showed *Map*, soliciting comment from Professor Costigan, as well as from R. W. Burgess of the Missionary Film Service. More than 2,000 students jammed themselves into the auditorium, there to laugh uproariously at the patent idiocies of the film, and warmly applaud Professor Costigan's critical comment.

And now the storm broke, with acrimonious, state-wide debate, and a great public choosing up of sides. The Boeing management and local Naval officers admitted to the Seattle press that they had been distributors of *Map*. Representative Thomas M. Pelly (R), a supporter of the House Un-American Activities Committee, warmly approved the Navy's indoctrination of civilians. The *Norfolk Progress*, organ of the Seattle Catholic diocese, championed the films; and Father Thomas L. O'Brien of Seattle University emerged as a local spokesman for the right wing. Also highly popular as a spokesman for HUAC and the films was Mrs. Virginia Shakelford of Tacoma, who some months later revealed herself as a member of the John Birch Society. Fundamentalist churches, reservists, chambers of commerce and other business groups, service clubs, the King County Labor Council, certain unions and PTA's voiced approval of the films and, variously, support of the Navy, of the FBI, of HUAC. Professor Costigan, "left-wing University professors," and the ACLU were damned, scourged and, occasionally, libeled.

These attacks were met. Very early, nine leading Protestant ministers in Seattle—including a Methodist Bishop and the executive minister of the Greater Seattle Council of Churches—denounced both *Abolition* and *Map*. Their statement was followed by similar ones from directors of student religious groups in the university community, by on-campus student organizations, by various Democratic clubs, and others.

Neither Seattle daily took an editorial position on this debate, but it was quite clear from the type of coverage where their sympathies lay. When the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, for example, at last released the statement of the 22 faculty members, it was printed next to a column in support of the film—written by the paper's aviation reporter, who has the Boeing beat. Most of the other newspapers throughout the state, dailies and weeklies, followed this lead. The University of Washington *Daily* gave broad coverage to the liberal position and published editorials in support of it; Stan Stapp of the *Greenwood Aurora Outlook* provided, in his weekly column, the only other local journalistic recognition of the libertarian viewpoint.

It was inevitable that repercussions should be felt in the state legislature. The greatest spate of McCarthyite legislation since the heyday of McCarthy himself was now introduced, by Democrats as well as Republicans. There was a resolution praising the films and making a legislative finding that they were excellent teaching materials. There was a resolution of glowing commendation for the work of HUAC. Another proposal called for the creation of an "American Heritage Foundation," to be charged with indoctrinating the people of the State of Washington on the evils of communism and the fundamentals of Americanism. Ultimately these, and several other bills of the same tendency, were defeated, but not without the greatest difficulty. They were stopped by the combination

of a handful of able legislators—mainly, Representatives Norman Ackley and Daniel Briuk, and Senator Wilber G. Hallaur—and the skillful activities of many liberal committee staff members, coordinated by the Washington ACLU's executive secretary.

The rising tide of anti-Communist fervor has given birth in the Northwest to numerous new programs and organizations on the right. Introduced in February was a frankly extremist organization calling itself "A Group of People, Inc." Apparently at no loss for funds, GOPI celebrated something it calls "Loyalty Day" by opening a library to supply anti-Communist literature to the public. Another group is Greater America, Inc. Calling itself a national organization, and carrying on its list of board members some nationally prominent figures, among them Erwin D. Canham and James A. Lisen, it is none the less largely a Boeing creation. Although it has made some effort to keep its anti-communism respectable, its pilot study group attracted, almost exclusively, adherents of the John Birch stripe. A tie-up between the military, politicians, industrial and business leadership, conservatives and extreme right-wingers is also evident in the recently founded Seattle American Leadership Council. Captain Sanger is credited with a central role in inspiring and organizing the Council, it features as co-chairmen Seattle Mayor Gordon Clinton, the senior vice president of Boeing, and the secretary of the King County Labor Council. Its speakers' bureau is entrusted to Father O'Brien.

Captain Sanger has continued to be in great demand in the area—even with liberals who have repeatedly tried in vain to get him to accept a public debate. But it began to be evident that objections were being raised in high places to this sort of political activity on the part of the military. Both President Kennedy and the Defense Department had made it plain that statements of policy coming from the military must henceforth be cleared by higher civilian authority. Moreover, early in March the Navy canceled scheduled showings of *Map*. When Representative Pelly protested the cancellations, the Navy replied apologetically that its supply of the film could not meet the growing demand and that furthermore it was unable to work out "transportation problems" from Sand Point. To add to the confusion, a Sand Point commander on the same day denied that the Navy had ever shown the film to any but "our own people." Sanger himself was later to make the same denial, more than once.

There now began what may be called "The Canonization of Captain Sanger." His praises were repeatedly sung in the metropolitan dailies, sometimes in the form of testimonials from organizations and individuals, sometimes in feature stories. Misrepresenting criticism of the Captain as due to his "vigorous opposition to communism," the newspapers pictured him as a hero behaving with immense courage under formidable fire.

In the midst of this fevered defense of the local military hero, the John Birch story broke nationally. The metropolitan newspapers at first attempted to ignore it. But as the story grew throughout the country, the *Post-Intelligencer* and the *Times* were constrained to pick it up. Both ran exposés of the John Birch Society, in a series of lengthy articles. The *PI* and the *Times* began at this point to show signs of acute schizophrenia. On the very day that the *PI* ran its first article on the John Birch Society, there appeared on the same page an editorial headed "A Naval Officer's Duty," lauding Captain Sanger for his Americanism campaign. In another editorial, the *PI* thanked Senator Dodd for his demand that the Birch Society be investigated, but could not refrain from the Goldwater-like regret that "some of our finest citizens, with the highest motives," had been attracted to the society. The fine citizens and organizations which have plugged *Map* here still enjoy the best relationships with the press, nor has the press ever chided them or Captain Sanger about the identification between the film and the Birch Society.

Nevertheless, the newspapers' articles on the society, as they identified local Birch leaders, did offer some key to earlier rightwing phenomena in Washington State. The individuals named were also prominent in other rightwing groups in the area which had been at work in ways and with goals similar to those outlined in Welch's *Blue Book*. American Legionnaire Lawrence Timbers, author of a widely circulated smear sheet on Professor Costigan, is a John Birch, as are Mrs. Shakelford and one P. C. Beasley. In addition to being Washington State "organizer" and "coordinator" for the Birch Society, Beasley is on the national board of "We the People," along with Mrs. Shakelford. All three of the aforementioned are members of the board of the Committee for Economic Freedom, Mrs. Shakelford is also an organizer for the Constitution Party. Shakelford, Beasley and Timbers have been the chief instruments in a number of "study

clubs" which devote themselves chiefly to attacks on the public schools in this area. Also a member of the "study clubs" and the local Birch Society is Tom Hutton, an associate of Gerald L. K. Smith in the Christian Nationalist Crusade. No theory of conspiracy is offered here as an explanation of the political climate of Washington over the past few months. The multiple connections of individuals of similar extreme views do, however, reflect Birch Society doctrine, and can be seen in numerous related activities.

Perhaps the best illustration of the tendencies of these interconnected groups and individuals has been their attacks upon the public schools, especially those of Kent, which Mrs. Shakelford and her fellows have harassed for more than a year. The guidance program was attacked as brainwashing; teaching methods and texts were assailed; it was charged that children were indoctrinated with un-American tenets emanating from Columbia University, the goal of which was to teach the youth to live in a Communist world. The Kent school board and the superintendent have so far successfully resisted these assaults; unfortunately, their courage has not been consistently matched by other Washington school boards and superintendents.

Nor has the exposure of the Birch Society inhibited the attacks upon free discussion and inquiry in the public schools: less than two weeks after the local stories on the society appeared, another such foray was reported in the newspapers. At Foster High, on the outskirts of Seattle, two teachers, in full cooperation with their principal, had worked up a study unit on the issues troubling the community. They included for discussion such relevant materials as *Map* and the Roosevelt-McNeely debate on HUAC. The superintendent of schools received a single letter and a few telephone calls criticizing the teachers and the principal for the presentation of this unit. This was sufficient to start an imbroglio in which the teachers' and the principal's activities were debated at a school board meeting before 250 persons, and they were subjected to hours of private executive inquiry into their political and social attitudes and activities.

A new program for Seattle's public schools further reflects the political climate here. Billed as the "American Heritage" program, it is not to consist in courses, but is intended to imbue the entire curriculum with a set of attitudes. Five- and six-year olds are to be instructed in the meaning of the pledge of allegiance. Instruction in communism's perils and pitfalls will begin in the fifth grade, with awareness of the Red threat presumably dominating studies from there on.

Although some Washington liberals feel that the exposure of the John Birch Society has gone far to reduce extremist pressure from the right, a glance at the record, present and retrospective, does not offer such firm comfort. One can begin by assessing the Washington liberals themselves. It is true that as individuals they show a great gain in courage and outspokenness over the McCarthy period; this is particularly striking in the case of religious leaders and of the academic community, faculty as well as students. Yet the willingness of individuals to identify with a liberal position has never translated itself into any practical, organized program of action. The ACLU of Washington, best equipped in terms of will, skill and experience, will not enter into areas where no civil-liberties infringement is involved. On the other hand, an organization such as the American Friends Service Committee has only a fraction of energies and funds to devote to civil-liberties issues, acute as may be its interest in them. The Democratic Party organs and the church groups which took verbal stands against the right-wingers are analogously restricted and restrained. Moreover, the groups which took such fragmentary action as they could, did not in this period of near-hysteria enjoy any spectacular increase in members, in member willingness to take individual responsibility, or in funds. It is not surprising, therefore, that the independent organization which was finally created to act in a concerted way—the so-called Committee for an Open Society, Inc.—never got off the ground. In short, there has not been a massive response to a massive challenge.

And there is little on the local balance sheet to suggest that the dimensions of the challenge have been affected by indignation over the Birch Society. Those who decry the Birchers' smearing of Eisenhower make no connection between this and the assaults on local intellectuals. In the midst of revulsion against Mr. Welch, it is the public schools which are being attacked, not the industrialists and military men who have carried Welch's ideas, via *Communism on the Map*, to so many inhabitants of the state. The reputations of Boeing and Puget Sound Power and Light not only remain undamaged, they have not even been challenged; while the imminent departure of Captain Senger to another station has brought a new flurry of testimonials and fresh demands for his services as a public speaker.

APPENDIX 17

Never, since the most virulent days of Goebbels' "hate" propaganda, has anything appeared in the United States comparable to a 47-page booklet, dated June 1961, put out by the Communist Party of the United States in connection with its drive to smother the expanding anti-Communist movement in this country.

The 35-cent booklet is entitled "The Fascist Revival," and purports to tell "the inside story of the John Birch Society." The author is Mike Newberry, another Worker specialist in unbridled smear.

The booklet is evidence of the degree to which the Communist Party considers itself immune from libel, through a complex legal barrier it has built around itself, and by exploitation of the double standard. Communists have created an atmosphere in which those victimized by its lies feel it is futile to seek recompense.

The virulent tone of the booklet, with all stops out in vituperative propaganda, indicates that the Communist Party would like to create a new, Pavlovian trigger word for this period in its psychological warfare, and believes "Birchite" might be put into the language this way, replacing "McCarthyite." The impact of the latter fabricated word apparently no longer is strong enough to meet Red needs. Communist deeds have deprived it of its effectiveness in Red "psywar."

The Communists now seek to create a new scare word. This would evoke a conditioned response in a background of fear, founded on the specter of a Fascist plot inside the United States, which would attack all minorities, and spread terror to everyone. This Red propaganda objective is a terror maneuver. It would be what they call the "correct" line for this time, to make the American public jittery through pressure from abroad, by manufactured crises in places such as Berlin and Laos, and by pressure at home through visions of a "Fascist revival." A jittery United States would be off-balance and vulnerable.

This is the "psywar" aim of the present Red propaganda drive, in which the Communist Party in the United States is working hand-in-hand with the Red network headquartered in Moscow.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 7, 1961

FROM : R. W. Smith

DATE: 11-22-2004
 CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 /cal/bsm Derivative
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-22-2029
 Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
 Info. remains classified

SUBJECT: THE BLACK BOOK ON RED CHINA
BY EDWARD HUNTER, 1958
BOOK REVIEW
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

#997911

The book is a bitter indictment of Communist China, with a supporting bill of particulars as to why Red China should not be admitted to the United Nations. The Director and FBI are not mentioned.

Admission a Mockery

Hunter cites Red China's many "crimes against humanity." For example, chapters are devoted to "Slave Labor," "Martyred Religion," "Aggression," "Outlaw Jurisprudence," "The Smashed Family System," and "Brainwashing and Genocide." In one chapter, "The Red Crime Combine," he says that the drug traffic is the main medium by which Red China supports its operations abroad. To substantiate this view, he quotes General Matthew H. Ridgway, Commissioner of Narcotics Harry J. Anslinger, and U. S. Ambassador to Switzerland Henry J. Taylor.

Hunter points out that the United Nations Charter defines its objectives as the furtherance of "fundamental human rights," support for the "dignity and worth of the human person," the guarantee of "equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." He rationalizes that "To fit Red China into those objectives would make a mockery of them."

PM:bbb/maj
 (10)
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Smith
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

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EX 104
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 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 11-22-2029

REC-4

SEP 12 1961

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

b7C

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-46855-

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: THE BLACK BOOK ON RED CHINA
BY EDWARD HUNTER, 1958, BOOK REVIEW

~~SECRET~~

Summary
Would Misrepresent, Not Represent 600 Million Chinese

The point is made that "Red China, having seized power with the direct aid and connivance of the international communist network, maintains itself in power only through the most rigorous and cruelest controls possible. It would not represent the 600 million Chinese people in the U. N. or anywhere else. It could only misrepresent them."

Advantage to the Communist Bloc

Hunter says that it would be suicidal to bring the Chinese of the communist conspiracy into the United Nations, when it is already crippled by the Soviet bloc's cynical abuse of parliamentary procedure; that the result could only be to hand over additional countries to the communist bloc.

Sponsorship of Book

According to the inside cover, this edition of the book was prepared by Edward Hunter for the Committee of One Million in cooperation with International Research on Communist Techniques, Inc.

The Author

Edward Hunter was investigated by the Bureau in 1949 [redacted] b1
[redacted] He was described by some persons as a b3
radical; by others, as an anticommunist. [redacted] 5)
He has written several anticommunist books, as well as a series of articles which appeared in Counterattack, self-described as containing "facts to combat communism and those who aid its cause." (100-350512-866; 118-4047-21)

In testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 11, 1961, Hunter was strongly critical of United States psychological warfare operations. Targets of his criticism were CIA, the U. S. Information Agency, and the Department of State. (118-4047-22)

The Committee of One Million

The Committee of One Million is self-identified as "against the admission of Communist China to the United Nations." Letterhead used by the Secretary of the Committee in March, 1961, lists among the members of its Steering Committee Senator Paul H. Douglas, Senator Kenneth B. Keating, Representative Francis E. Walter, and Representative Walter H. Judd. Listed among the members are numerous United States Senators and Representatives.

~~SECRET~~

Memo Smith to Sullivan

Re: THE BLACK BOOK ON RED CHINA
BY EDWARD HUNTER, 1958, BOOK REVIEW

~~SECRET~~

b1

b3

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] (S)

RECOMMENDATION:

b1

b3

For information.

JPM/s

Sc

DEM

John

[Signature]

[Signature]

V

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. SULLIVAN

1 - Sullivan
1 - Branigan
1 - Aull

DATE: September 5, 1961

FROM : W. A. BRANIGAN

SUBJECT: EDWARD HUNTER
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING
(ESPIONAGE)

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

On September 5, 1961, Mr. John Doherty, Executive Assistant in the Internal Security Division of the Department called. He referred to an article appearing in the "New York Sun" dated August 27, on page 12, which was an account of testimony by the captioned individual before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on July 11, 1961. Specifically, Doherty stated that the "New York Sun" article reflected that Hunter claimed that the White House was infiltrated. Mr. Doherty asked that we furnish the Internal Security Division with any information we have on Hunter.

It will be noted that the testimony of Hunter was reviewed by memo dated July 20, 1961, and it was decided that there was no basis for investigative action.

RECOMMENDATION:

We will check the information available on Hunter and furnish it to Assistant Attorney General Yeagley per Doherty's request. Because we received the Senate Internal Security testimony on a confidential basis, we cannot include in any reply the fact that we have reviewed this testimony.

WAB:hmm
(4)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-8-00 BY 60367MS/EP/JS

LET TO AAG YEAGLEY
9/12/61
WAA:ams
w/enc (9)

9/7/61 Copy being furnished
which has now
been made
public

REC-12 118-4047-30
22 SEP 13 1961

#997911

Director, FBI

September 12, 1961

EDWARD HUNTER
MISCELLANEOUS - INFORMATION CONCERNING
ESPIONAGE

Reference is made to a telephone call from Mr. John Doherty, Executive Assistant, Internal Security Division, to Mr. W. A. Branigan of this Bureau on September 5, 1961. Mr. Doherty referred to an account of testimony by Edward Hunter which appeared in the "New York Sun" dated August 27, 1961, and requested that the Internal Security Division be furnished any information we had on Edward Hunter.

(S)

For your additional information, there is enclosed a copy of the testimony of Mr. Hunter before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-seventh Congress, First Session, dated July 11, 1961. The testimony bears the caption "The New Drive Against the Anti-Communist Program." Information in our files indicates [redacted]

Hunter has written several books regarding communist activities in Asia. One of his books is entitled "The Black Book on Red China," which was published in 1958. This book sets forth reasons why Red China should not be admitted to the United Nations. The 1958 edition of Hunter's book indicates that it was prepared by him for the Committee of One Million, in cooperation with International Research on Communist Techniques, Incorporated. The Committee of One Million is a group that is opposed to the admission of Red China to the United Nations. International Research on Communist Techniques, Incorporated, San Francisco, disbanded in September, 1959. This organization had been in existence since June, 1957, and was engaged

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SEE NOTE PAGE 2

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Assistant Attorney General
J. Walter Yeagley

~~SECRET~~

in printing and distributing anticommunist literature in foreign countries.

No action is contemplated by this Bureau with respect to Edward Hunter.

Enclosures (9)

NOTE: Reports being furnished to the Department are found in Bufile 118-4047, Serials 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. Hunter is a former member of the American Newspaper Guild and has been described as being extremely anticommunist. His writings tend to bear out his anticommunist reputation.

The inquiry from Mr. Doherty indicated that the article in the "New York Sun" stated Hunter claimed the White House was infiltrated, presumably by communists or by people who desired that anticommunist activities be kept pedaled. The testimony has been reviewed but no specific statement of this type has been found. It appears that article in the "New York Sun" involved literary license on the part of the press in referring to certain portions of the testimony of Edward Hunter.

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Mr. Tolson	_____
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Anti-Anti-Communism Ruckus

The following are all mixed up: The removal of Gen. Edwin Walker as U. S. 24th Division commander in Germany because of his personally-pushed campaign to teach anti-communism and sources of it to American servicemen; charges Walker was pushing instruction on matters involving political interpretation of our national policy; charges the country is subject to a massed indoctrination effort from right-wingers such as John Birchers; charges people alert to Red menace and trying to warn about it are, themselves, under attack by a vast group called the "anti-anti-Communists."

Yesterday Defense Secretary McNamara offered sharp evidence as to Gen. Walker having had some part in trying to influence an election through making advice of a certain sort available to troops.

The defense of Gen. Walker has been along lines that he, and others, were curbed in trying to gear up our men in the fight against communism.

A lot of attention has been fixed on this matter because of just-released testimony by one Edward Hunter before the internal security subcommittee of the Senate committee on the judiciary.

The Hunter testimony was to the effect that the "anti-anti-Communists" are well organized and aimed at softening the nation up for the Reds. The weight of the argument: That if you

fight boldly against communism, you come under attack from press and many public officials. This was the basis of the Hunter charge.

This entire piece of business gets terribly involved and vague. Generalizations abound. Hunter in his testimony—as full reading of the record will show—drew conclusions which were not pinned down in anything like a manner which would stand up in a court of law.

He did cite numerous cases in which national newspapers, magazines and individual writers wrote somewhat caustically, either directly or by insinuation, about groups allegedly trying to alert the nation to the Reds.

But Hunter also said that "Communists can be anti-United States, but we are not allowed to be anti-Communist." Those who stop anyone from being anti-Communist are not named, or ways they "stop" anyone.

It would be foolish to try to jump feet first into such a dispute with any hope of doing other than further to muddy the water. This much, though, does seem apparent:

Some groups are properly trying to emphasize that the country could be weakened by too much rationalization about the Reds, by too much talk of negotiating, and by failure to realize just how deadly is this contest.

But some in such groups seem to have gone so far to the right that they make blanket charges which just don't stack up by evidence. The Hunter charges—to repeat, if read in their entirety—leave a lot of questions unanswered, while some points seem well enough taken.

THE WIRE INSIDE NEWS

9/7/61

NEW YORK JOURNAL

EDITORIAL

EDITOR - E. J. CONNELLEY, JR.

112 N. 10th St., ALBANY, N.Y. 12207

File in
main 118
on Edward Hunter
118-4047-A
WAA

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 9-21-61

FROM : D. C. Morrell

SUBJECT: SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE
DEMOCRAT, WISCONSIN

Tolson	✓
Belmont	✓
Mohr	✓
Callahan	✓
Conrad	✓
DeLoach	✓
Evans	✓
Malone	✓
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	✓
Tavel	✓
Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Ingram	✓
Gandy	✓

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-3-00 BY 60267 NLS/EP/BS

Senator Proxmire referred a letter of a constituent, [redacted] of [redacted] Wisconsin, which referred to recent testimony given before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by Edward Hunter. She quoted a portion of Hunter's testimony relating to methods of espionage utilized by Russia. [redacted] has Hunter saying that "Moscow agents have infiltrated the White House and other topmost Government offices." Actually, this is what Hunter testified: "We are still focusing on the old, as we were in World War II. Then, along with the British, we were putting the low men on our totem pole, who had slight if any useful data anyway, under rigorous and penalizing security checks. Moscow simply acquired agents who mingled with the new, intellectual elite at the top on terms of equality, were sometimes members of it themselves. They infiltrated the White House and other topmost Government offices. These were gentlemen all. Gentlemen talked frankly between themselves in comradely manner. Secrets were much easier to steal this way, and immensely more reliable."

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[redacted] asks of Proxmire what is being done about this. The Senator requests any information we may be able to give regarding her questions. Our relations have been limited but cordial with Senator Proxmire. Hunter was investigated by the Bureau in 1949 and 1950. [redacted] He has written several books regarding communism in Asia and he appears to be extremely anticommunist.

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RECOMMENDATION:

That someone from your office (DeLoach) contact the Senator or his Administrative Assistant and point out the exact Hunter quotation as reflected on page 11 of the Subcommittee's report as contrasted with [redacted] apparent interpretation of it; that the Senator might wish to point out to [redacted] that the FBI is continuing to discharge its responsibilities with dispatch and thoroughness which have characterized our past operations and that [redacted] might wish to have a copy of the attached booklet, "Role of the FBI in the Federal Employee Security Program."

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Enclosures

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - M. A. Jones - Enclosure

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United States Senate

Washington, D. C., September 15, 1961

Respectfully referred to

Congressional Liaison
F.B.I.

I would appreciate any information you may be able to give me regarding the questions raised by my constituent concerning Mr. Hunter's testimony (enclosed herewith).

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267 NLS/EP/AS

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ENCLOSURE

William Proxmire

U. S. S.

TRUE COPY

August 29, 1961

Dear Senator Proxmire,

Thank you for your response to my letter of August 15. It is encouraging to know that you too are aware of the Communist menace and realize how vital it is to educate our troops and people concerning it.

A small percentage of our citizens have been attempting to inform themselves and others on communism and have been taking action to halt its spread in this country. In a recent testimony given to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by Edward Hunter, a specialist in psychological warfare, he states that Moscow agents have "infiltrated the White House and other top most Government offices" and described the high-level infiltration as part of a Red "frontal attack" set up to crush this growth of "grass-roots anti-Communist movement" in the U. S.

Such statements are shocking but not news, because of past policy and appointments--the question is, what is being done about it? If you have not already heard this testimony I urge you to give it your attention; and I would greatly appreciate a copy of it if one is available.

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Respectfully yours,

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Wis.

Return address on envelope:

[Redacted]
[Redacted] Wisconsin

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ENCLOSURE 17

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DATE 2-8-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

118-4047-31
ENCLOSURE

THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE ANTI- COMMUNIST PROGRAM

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JULY 11, 1961

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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DATE 2-8-00 BY 60267 NLS/EP/BS

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1961

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	NORRIS COTTON, New Hampshire

J. G. SOURWINE, Counsel
BENJAMIN MANDEL, Director of Research

RESOLUTION

Resolved by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, That the injunction of secrecy be removed from testimony given by Edward Hunter in executive session beginning at 4 p.m. on July 11, 1961; be it further

Resolved, That said testimony be printed and made public.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, Chairman.
THOMAS J. DODD, Vice Chairman.
OLIN D. JOHNSTON.
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN.
SAM J. ERVIN, Jr.
ROMAN L. HRUSKA.
EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN.
KENNETH B. KEATING.
NORRIS COTTON.

Dated August 18, 1961.

THE NEW DRIVE AGAINST THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PROGRAM

TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1961

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee convened at 2 p.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Norris Cotton presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel of the subcommittee; Benjamin Mandel, research director; Frank Schroeder, chief investigator, and Ralph W. Horton, associate counsel.

Senator Cotton. Will you raise your right hand, please. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HUNTER. I do.

Senator Cotton. Give the reporter your name and address.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD HUNTER

Mr. HUNTER. I am Edward Hunter. My address is 64 Webster Avenue, Port Washington, N.Y.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are the author of a number of books, are you not?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, a number of books.

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote "Brainwashing in Red China"?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, and the more recent "Brainwashing: From Pavlov to Powers."

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote "The Story of Mary Liu"?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. "The Black Book on Red China," too.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you have also written an influential contemporary book on Afghanistan?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes. I spent a whole year in Afghanistan and wrote a book, "The Past Present," which had the effect of emancipating the women of Afghanistan by persuading the royal family to allow Afghan women to appear in public with unveiled, "naked" faces.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have had a great deal of experience in psychological warfare, have you not?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, over many years.

Mr. SOURWINE. This has been one of your specialties.

Mr. HUNTER. Since I was thrown into this field as a young reporter, 40 or so years ago.

Mr. SOURWINE. In this connection, you have worked with agencies of the U.S. Government?

Mr. HUNTER. A number of different agencies.

Senator COTTON. I must answer a quorum call. We will stand in recess for a brief period.

The subcommittee resumed at 4 p.m., in room 2300, New Senate Office Building, Senator Norris Cotton, presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel of the subcommittee; Benjamin Mandel, research director, and Frank Schroeder, chief investigator, and Ralph W. Horton, minority counsel.

Senator COTTON. This hearing is being reopened as a regular executive session, to provide opportunity for Mr. Edward Hunter to elaborate on a point he touched upon only briefly during his testimony in May; namely, the new counterdrive in the United States against anti-Communist alertness and training programs.

Mr. Hunter, you have already been sworn.

Mr. SOURWINE. We are informed, and have on the record, your very extensive background in psychological warfare generally, and the war against the mind specifically. We know of the research and the books you pioneered in this field. Have you given any particular attention to the subject of this phase of our hearing, as Senator Cotton has stated it?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; indeed. I made extensive trips throughout the United States during the past couple of years, after my return from Afghanistan, for purposes of research, writing, and lecturing. This put me in close touch with the local situation in each community as regards communism. I watched an actual grassroots movement develop. With this background, I have lately been noticing a new, highly coordinated drive go into high gear to tear this anti-Communist movement up by the roots and destroy it. Whereas the grassroots movement was a spontaneous local development in most areas, there is nothing spontaneous nor local about the drive to crush it; it is an organized psychological warfare operation that had all the markings of staff planning.

Mr. SOURWINE. We hope you will go into detail on these matters. So that we may have a general idea of where these details fit in, could you begin by summarizing the present stage in this fight?

Mr. HUNTER. A quick, Red operation is being attempted, like that of a sleight-of-hand artist, to push this administration, the press, and public into a trap that would eliminate the anti-Communist program in the United States. We should know by now that this is the way Red strategy operates, as it did in the concluding period of World War II. When communism has an opponent's attention diverted, or has him confused or reeling, the Reds push forward as fast as they can in their psychological warfare, grabbing all the advantage and booty they can. They are using this time-tried method of theirs against the Kennedy administration in its first year. They have carefully analyzed its conciliatory or goodwill traits as vulnerabilities, and are exploiting them as much as they can. Those traits, as you must know, are held with contempt in Communist teachings—their dialectical materialism—regarded as sentimentalism, a crime in Communist society. Sentimentalism is considered a bourgeois contradiction to Marxist objectivism.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do they have any special plan or ruse by which they hope to achieve this purpose?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; very much so. A new "psywar" line that constitutes very clever propaganda is being pushed. The argument is simply that communism is no danger here in the United States, that it's abroad where the danger lies. They want us to stop paying attention to Communist activities here in America, to drop the alertness and training programs that would enable our public and our troops to avoid Red traps, and to recognize the face of communism, so that we won't repeat the disastrous scandals of North Korean prisoner-of-war camps, and of Captain Powers of the U-2. This isn't really a new line, any more than coexistence was when it was taken out of the Red "bag of tricks" for use again. But it's now their major line, and the major danger to us. If the Reds can put it across—and they've already achieved some great successes with it—we will have disarmed ourselves in the realm of mind warfare—the war for the mind—right here at home. Our submersion into communism would inevitably follow, unless we were able to awaken from the trance in time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where do we stand now in this fight?

Mr. HUNTER. When we look at it from the overall point of view, we see a race taking place. It is a race between those trying to give the American people the knowledge they require of the weapons and the tactics employed in the so-called cold war, and those seeking to deprive them of this vital information. This is the part of the Red disarmament drive that is being waged in the field of mind warfare, what might best be called mind attack, a military label for brainwashing. What we are discussing now falls into the scope of the softening-up process, one of the two processes in brainwashing, the other being indoctrination. Softening up is disarmament in the cold war. Exactly as the Red objective in weapons disarmament—as evidenced by their one-sided demands—is to deprive us of the hardware for defense and attack, while leaving themselves loopholes to avoid such deprivation, their objective in cold war disarmament is our moral softening up, depriving us of the means of spotting Red traps and Communist intrigue, and sapping our will to do anything about it, while leaving communism no such handicap to conspiracy and subversion.

A growing grassroots movement has developed in the United States against communism—one which constitutes a powerful anti-Communist movement. This evolved in spite of anti-anti-Communist maneuvers—against anticommunism—that have been going on for some years in our country, utilizing mainly Red fronts and hush-hush methods, as well as economic pressure against those who are frankly anti-Communist. This subtle, comparatively concealed anti-anti-Communism has now been merged into what can best be called a Red anti-anti-Communist drive, that was openly initiated, under orders issued to the Communist forces of the world, especially to those in the United States, through the Red manifesto of December 5, 1960. The manifesto was made public at the conclusion of the strategy conference of 81 Communist parties of the world, including our treasonable own, that met in Moscow all last November. The race is what the Reds call "struggle," and is for keeps. "Struggle" in the

Communist lexicon can include "all forms of conflict, from smiles and leaflets to hand grenades and nuclear fission, according to opportunity and need. The protagonists are the growing anti-Communist movement in the United States and the Red anti-anti-Communist drive. The Reds are seeking to put this over as a quick operation, catching us off balance, to crush the entire anti-Communist movement in our country.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by an anti-Communist movement in the United States, and by your references to a grassroots movement?

Mr. HUNTER. This can only be understood against the backdrop of the Communist position generally on matters concerning inquiry by non-Communists and anti-Communists—by anyone—into what the Reds consider their own business, their "psywar" operations to weaken, conquer, and take over other countries, especially the United States, so as to complete their conquest of the world. They have always demanded that inquiry of any kind into Red manipulation should be forbidden. They have called it undemocratic, a reactionary or fascist activity, and illegal. All these words have their own, separate meaning in the Communist dictionary. They also insist, from the same Red point of view, that all such inquiry is "unfriendly" and "hostile," and are using "rightist" and "extreme rightist" as sneer words against anti-Communist teachings generally. The new conservative surge in the United States has been accompanied by anti-Communist efforts, mainly along educational lines, to spread information about the real nature of communism. The Reds equate this new conservatism with anticommunism, and equate this with fascism. This lumping together of opponents of every description—mild or tough—branding them with some predominantly objectionable label, is an old Red tactic. It produces some of the more obvious of the patent falsehoods that come out of Red logic, called dialectical materialism, and reaches such perversions of Socratic thinking as the teaching that war is peace, black is white, and opposition to communism is illegal, whereas pro-Communist activity is perfectly legal. The former may be as timid as you like, it is called McCarthyism by the Reds; the latter may be as unprincipled as hades, it is still regarded by them as irreproachable. Here we have the actual meaning of the term "McCarthyism" in dialectical materialism, and it has nothing whatsoever to do with the manner by which communism is opposed, it is a matter of so-called principle—Red principle.

We can understand much more about Communist procedure, which otherwise seems so incomprehensible, if we keep this difference in approach in mind, as well as the strategy that communism pursues to prevent frontal attack on specific Red tactics and evils, or their disclosure, by bunching all the opposition with whatever can be found that might be branded "off balance" and "haywire," and calling the whole thing right extremist—meaning to us anti-Semitic, racist and Fascist, irrespective of how far-fetched these accusations are to the particular cases under discussion. By insisting, as they actually did in the prisoner of war camps in North Korea, that any inquiry into communism shows "a hostile attitude" and an unconciliatory spirit, they have consistently obtained invaluable concessions without giving up anything in return, everywhere from the questioning of a prisoner to the grilling of a diplomat. We're going through this process all over again, it seems.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do they seem to get away with it all the time? Mr. HUNTER. By calculated, minutely planned staff work, and by the utilization in particular of the double standard.

Mr. SOURWINE. What do you mean by "the double standard"?

Mr. HUNTER. This is basic in Communist strategy. Enforcement of the double standard leaves the door open for the Communists to make headway. Otherwise, their aggressive and conspiratorial methods would be seen through, and once this happened they could not survive. The anti-anti-Communist drive is a vivid example of the double standard in practice. The Reds for years have had phenomenal success in suppressing criticism of communism that was in any way specific, and therefore effective. The poor Republic of China suffered tragically from this. Books extolling the Chinese Reds as agrarian reformers and Chinese "New Dealers"—not at all real Communists—were the only ones reviewed favorably in the United States, often the only ones reviewed at all, and were given best seller treatment, with a publicity buildup that ultimately made them bestsellers. The participation of writers and political analysts in pro-Red Chinese propaganda became extremely lucrative, and they were given additional easy income from fat lecture contracts. All this was laid on for those who held the line in the right direction, from the Communist standpoint that is, toward the extreme left. Anti-Communists were excluded. They just weren't given a look-in. It happened with such consistency that it cannot be considered a coincidence. We now know that this was manipulated by the Reds themselves. They benefited politically, in psychological warfare, from what constituted a monopoly, or a squeeze play. This embraced the film and drama and took over our communications channels generally. Yet all this time it was considered perfectly proper for the Communists to lambast their foes without the least consideration for truth. Any attempt to stop them was at once branded as interference with free speech and civil rights, and cynically, as a threat to the free enterprise system.

When this monopoly of theirs was finally exposed, the Reds howled suppression. The double standard to them is not a clever maneuver that they have gotten away with all this time: they consider it their right.

We must understand this if we are not to be bewildered each time we come up against it. From the other aspect, that of Communist ideology, it is something "proper" and "right" in their terminology. The double standard is part of dialectical materialism—built into it. The Reds, as a matter of ideology, do not grant their enemies the same privileges they claim for themselves. They claim the advantages of the double standard in our society, as in their own, as a right. It hasn't anything to do with what we call a liberal approach. It isn't being liberal to recognize this travesty of thought as logical, unless we are willing to go right ahead, too, and recognize that peace is war and white is black. This, incidentally, was the mental state into which our prisoners of war were edged in the Red brainwashing camps in North Korea. What is hard to realize is that this is exactly the state of mind the Reds seek to impose in close quarters in any negotiation.

Under the double standard, Communists can be anti-United States, but we are not to be allowed to be anti-Communist. Anti-anti-

communism is simply the enforcement of this piece of Red logic, that is really a piece of lack logic. But it has been perpetrated for years. The Reds at no time are willing to accept fair play, or a give-and-take situation in the press, any more than in a summit negotiation with President Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower or, now, Kennedy. It makes no difference whom. They are now insisting upon a return to what they claim as this right of theirs, the monopoly of our press and book facilities for pro-Communist arguments, and their exclusion to anti-Communists. They're making headway, too, in the same channels that lay low for a while.

The Red insistence on the double standard has reached its peak with the Communist claim to ample and complete—*de facto* exclusive—facilities with which to destroy us. They are specifically demanding complete elimination of anti-Communist programs from our schools and in the military, and from public meetings. This is the culmination of anti-anti-Communism. If we are buried in accordance with the decrees of that specialist in genocide, Nikita Khrushchev, it should be memorialized on our collectivized tombstones by the words: "Here Lies a Nation—Martyr to the Double Standard; Americans Could Never Learn."

There is a semantic gimmick that usually greases the mechanism for the upside-down Red thinking that is sometimes called doublethink. This is anti-Communist bias. Americans are justifiably opposed to bias. Opposition expressed to communism is labeled "anti-Communist bias" by the Reds, and at once we are supposed to avoid it. The simple objective is to eliminate free inquiry into Red machinations in our midst. But we are not supposed to refer to a pro-Communist bias, for to do so is, to them, "McCarthyism." This is the double standard. We are pressed not to engage in anticommunism, but if we don't, we leave the field open to the pro-Communists by default. That is the trap.

One of the most glaring examples of the double standard is in Red racism. The Reds use the term "racial liberation wars" in the native languages of Asia and Africa, and make no bones about it being a war against the white man, specifically the Western white man. So-called liberals who fall into the trap of equating defense of freedom with racism, following the Red line, never raise a voice against the obvious racism engaged in by Communists.¹

Somehow, if we're going to have a double standard, I would prefer we use it to our own advantage once in a while, and without any concealment about it, either. Is there anything wrong in favoring our own side, if we do so aboveboard, and honorably? One of the main reasons we are having setbacks around the world, losing respect, is that we have become known for not helping our friends, and for letting them down, while we help our enemies, trying to make ourselves popular with them, as if this were the way any person or nation can truly become popular.

The double standard is now in operation in many sectors of our society, if we would only look. The double standard is the main tactic in the perennial drive to put Red China into the United Nations and to give it American recognition. In our communications channels—from television to our daily papers—we constantly come across remarks favorable to the Red Chinese on this issue. This is considered being objective. However, when did you last hear anyone on tele-

¹ Cf. "The Soviet Empire, Prison House of Nations and Race," a study by the Internal Security Subcommittee, available at many libraries.

vision, for instance, casually remark that it was inevitable that freedom be restored to the Chinese people? Such statements are called controversial and discouraged or even suppressed. They're only controversial, however, when they're anti-Communist. This is the double standard in operation. Mao Tse-tung was whitewashed by its use. The same tactic is now being employed on his behalf once more, and by mostly the same people. We seem to accept past errors as the best recommendation for trust in this through-the-looking-glass world. What seems unforgivable is to have been right all along about communism.

Mr. SOORWINE. You said something about planned staff work by the Communists, presumably in reference to their activities in our country. Will you elaborate on this, please?

Mr. HUNTER. During the war, we had a clandestine propaganda warfare section in the Office of Strategic Services. I was part of it. These were, for the most part, experimental stations, with little implementation done. Theater commanders knew nothing about this approach, and next to nothing about psychological warfare, and had no time to find out, with a war going on, and certainly no patience for it. Psychological warfare of this clandestine nature had been part and parcel of Communist attack from the start, filling a major role in their conduct of war. The British did not draw a strict line between what we called white and black—between the overt or open, and the covert or clandestine. They put it all through much the same mill. When the war ended for us, the United States disbanded this section. The war didn't end for the U.S.S.R., though. We had ample knowledge of this, but made believe it wasn't so. Only one phase of it had closed for them: that requiring new weapons to be given the main emphasis. The Soviet Union kept its psychological planning bureaus operating as always, for Moscow had an entirely different conception of war than we. The Reds simply changed targets, and began aiming their psychological warfare guns at us, now that the Nazi target had been punched full of holes. We always had been an enemy, too, in their book, to be temporarily used and then destroyed—the traditional class warfare tactic. Significantly, we now are hearing of class conflict between nations—between poor and rich countries—now that class warfare has been exposed as utterly meaningless inside any modern, free nation. Coexistence, to the Reds, is merely the shift of class warfare from the domestic to the world stage, from so-called classes of people inside a country to entire nations. Indeed, the Red manifesto of December 5, 1960, says:

The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

Throughout the manifesto, the Red hierarchy equates socialism with communism, as different phases of the same movement.

The Red hierarchy began its shift of targets even before the end of the shooting war in Europe. We replaced the old target for them to such an extent that international communism has been referring to us as Fascists and Nazis. The Reds change or retain labels irrespective of contents, wholly in accordance with the impression they seek to convey.

Unavoidably, we were pushed into seeking a defense against this psychological warfare offensive against us, that our State Department and the White House well knew about, but kept secret from the

American public which had a right to know, being the most critically concerned. Defense against intensified Red assault forced Washington to set up an operational arm in Central Intelligence Agency, which reinstated the clandestine section of OSS. Old OSS records had been cavalierly dealt with, even destroyed, especially those that could have been used as guidance, which could have helped us learn from old mistakes. CIA had to start at the beginning once more, as if we had never had this OSS experience. There was a deliberateness about this diversion and loss of documentation that goes beyond carelessness and slipshod methods.

What is relevant in this situation is that it just doesn't make sense to say that the Reds would abandon their "psywar" operations against the one country they consider their primary foe—the United States—whose free existence makes their world conquest impossible. Of course they have a psychological warfare planning section, specifically given the responsibility of operations within the United States. We are naive, to be sure, but we wouldn't be naive—we'd be criminally stupid—to insist otherwise. Yet on such life-and-death factors, we sometimes seem to be the latter.

The pattern is too plain, its details stand out too conspicuously for me not to recognize them. What is as sure as anything I have ever known in this "psywar" field is that the Moscow-Peking-through-Havana Axis maintains a clandestine warfare planning and operational section directly dealing with the United States, and has had it at work certainly since the end of World War II. The pattern is too obvious. Whether it is located on American soil, in Washington, or technically on foreign soil, in the United Nations, or in Canada, or Mexico, may be argued. I feel it utilizes the Communist Party of the United States in a subordinate position, to provide informational and implementation facilities rather than for policymaking. I doubt whether the Kremlin regards the American Communists as sufficiently "reliable"—this word has special meaning in Communist language—to be entrusted with such knowledge. The FBI presumably has it too effectively tapped. Foreign Reds on our soil, directly under Moscow's orders, do the programming. They determine tactics dealing with day-to-day tasks. The operational headquarters might even be in Cuba. Remember, the present Soviet Ambassador to Cuba was, at the time of the Gouzenko disclosures, the Red spy chief in the Soviet Embassy in Canada whose espionage ring robbed us of our atomic secrets, under the protection of a hush-hush by the American authorities on Red spy activities. This hush-hush seems one of the few points on which the U.S. Government can be said to have a policy.

Lesser loyalties—to political party, profession, or office colleagues—were allowed then to take precedence over higher loyalties and responses. This mentality was epitomized by such attitudes as "Why stick your neck out?" "What's in it for me?" and "The customer is always right." They replaced our old maxims of morality. The Australian cynicism, "I couldn't care less," became worldwide. All this fertilized our soil for subversion and treason. We have not yet rid ourselves of those noxious and poisonous weeds. Of this, I am convinced by the pattern I have seen forming.

Mr. SORAWINE. Perhaps you could go into some detail regarding this that you call a pattern.

Mr. HORTER. Yes. It will require an extended explanation, though.

One date should be kept in mind as a starting point for the new phase in "psywar," the new Red anti-anti-Communist drive, to differentiate it from the Red-manipulated, covert anti-anti-communism we had heretofore. The former is outright Red-managed, part of disclosed policy of the Communist hierarchy, and immensely more aggressive. Something new has been added to the old, and it is direct action—demonstrations and riots, unbridled smears in the traditional Red manner, and what in practice amounts to an overt manipulation of non-Communist and even anti-Communist personalities and groups, in and out of government, for a basic Red objective, the liquidation of the growing anti-Communist grassroots movement in the United States. The popular movement to which I refer is a healthy, public reaction against the character-sapping official policy of setting standards by a fluctuating popularity poll. Actually, that's a degraded form of dialectical materialism, which also rejects eternal values as principles common to human experience down the ages.

This overt operation is a reflection of Khrushchev's frequently uttered contempt for the United States. He is basing his war against us on the premise that we have been sufficiently softened-up to be unearable by patriotism or loyalty, what I have referred to as mental survival stamina, and that we are sure to be a pushover, needing a mere concluding coup de grace perhaps, without appreciable danger of retaliation in any effective manner. This, gentlemen, is the psychological basis on which the Reds are working, and they consider themselves objective and practical.

They surely know, in Moscow, those on whom they can depend to do their dirty work here in the United States, especially in Government and communications circles in Washington and New York. Of this much we can be sure: They have a strategy for our defeat—our burial, as Khrushchev euphemistically terms it. Realization of this in Government as well as by the public could be the stimulation to awaken us from our corrupting trance. That way we could exploit Red strategy against themselves, and save ourselves.

We have made believe that this Red contempt doesn't exist by hushing up on it. I stress it here because it is one of those factors that are integral portions of psychological warfare—the cold war. The extent of truth in it, whether really false, is irrelevant. "Psywar" proceeds on what minds can be induced to accept, not on what actually exists, or on accuracy based on Judeo-Christian standards. The Communist conspirators deal primarily with influences, as lavers and weapons. The best expression of his attitude was provided by Khrushchev himself in his inimitable, boorish manner, when he described Americans to satellite and other foreign correspondents in Moscow as people whom: "You spit in their face and they call it dew." Could anything be more insulting? Instead of responding, we have ignored the insult. This quotation is obtainable in the Moscow-published material which we receive as part of our cultural exchange program with the Reds, in return for the so-called objective material we send them, in which we tell them about our blemishes. Of course, cultural exchange on this basis is satisfactory to Moscow. This one-sidedness is what they insist on as a "cooperative attitude," on a take it or leave it basis. We are taking it.

The anchor point is this date of December 5, 1960, when the Red manifesto was adopted in Moscow. This set the new, expanded Red

policy. For the first time, the world Communist network, in a basic policy and operational document, specifically referred to the anti-Communist movement in the United States, recognizing that it had reached proportions large enough to constitute a main—if not the main—danger to Communist progress in our country, outlining tactics to combat it, so as to regain the virtually unobstructed field it had once occupied in its American operations.

While the anti-anti-Communists, with fake liberals as their working media in the communications field, were telling each other, and being widely quoted in the Pavlovian manner of the conditioned reflex, about the ineffectiveness and hopelessness of the anti-Communist movement in America, the Red psychological warfare staff in our land was not allowing itself to be diverted by such balderdash. It well knew who pulled the strings in this belittlement of anti-communism, and it knew who were the ventriloquists in this softening-up and defeatist propaganda. The tightly organized, keenly observant group that runs Red "psywar" in the United States was surely observing the anti-Communist movement in a professional, objective manner. This Red operational group, made up of persons with diplomatic entree in Washington and at the United Nations, with perhaps some few vassals from the Communist Party of the United States, watched the anti-Communist movement grow in grassroots manner, and fast, and saw it reach sizable proportions without benefit of publicity, in the face of discouragement from official sources in Washington and a hush-hush in the press.

The new, coordinated, aggressive Red anti-anti-Communist drive was launched by the Red manifesto. Until then, anti-anti-communism had been conducted mainly as a hush-hush operation in the manner of the "united front," enlisting the help of any person or organization, no matter whether non-Communist or even anti-Communist, so long as he aids and abets the Communist objective of strangling anti-communism at birth, wherever it showed up.

Anti-anti-communism was interpreted to mean opposition to anti-communism, on the assumption that the latter is an obstacle to negotiations with Soviet Russia, and is contrary to "peaceful coexistence." Coexistence was suddenly taken from Red ideology and publicized as if a product of American thinking, making it less unpalatable to our people. It was a cliché in Communist language and tactics, a device for weakening and confusing, for setting up the victim—ourselves—for the kill.

Anti-Communists in political, educational, literary, clerical, and other spheres of American society were boxed in and squeezed out, quietly, one by one. This was the hush-hush strategy. However, it did not fully work, thanks to the American people themselves, and a few isolated segments in Government, who were persistently harassed and kept busy battling for their own survival. Even if they couldn't be "liquidated," their efforts could be held to a minimum.

The conference of Communist parties of the world, holding strategy meetings in Moscow over a period of 6 weeks or more last year, came forth with this manifesto that laid down the new, or rather the intensified strategy for war against the free world, principally the United States, inside the framework of what the Reds mean in Communist language by the word "struggle."

We must not let out of our minds the fact that "struggle" in dialectical materialism embraces all forms of conflict which have a

common objective, whether hot or cold, including military destruction among other means of winning, considering everything and anything as a weapon if it can help weaken a foe and bring about his surrender to the Reds. This is its rendering in a society based on Pavlovianism, which creates conditioned reflexes by signals and symbols, relegating men to the status of a dog.

The manifesto ordered a frontal attack upon the anti-Communist movement, for the first time recognized as a fundamental obstacle to Red aims. This made hash of the line taken until then, that had downgraded anticommunism as futile, not worthy of mention, which ridiculed it by such artifices as saying it really helped the Reds—the "Wasn't McCarthy a Red agent himself?" sort of heavy joke. The manifesto made plain that anticommunism had to be combated by a major counteroffensive.

The role of anti-anticommunism in the United States, as it existed until then, was to employ diffusion, confusion, and hush-hush to leave the "psywar" field, by default, open to pro-Reds alone. Whether done knowingly, or as a Pavlovian reflex, it was all the same to the Reds.

Surely by no wise can this Red manifesto be honestly described other than as a strategy for the defeat of the United States and its absorption into the Communist empire. Yet organs of anti-anti-communism, such as the New York Times, in heavyweights, comatose gibberish, brushed it off as a moderate document, as merely a compromise between Soviet Russia and Red China, in what they had played up as a virtual split between them, hence not putting any new heat on the United States. This was a dangerous distortion of the facts, and yet our leading prestige papers retailed it, brushing off the document. This, too, is part of the pattern to which I'm referring. These things don't just happen in a "psywar" world. They are brought about by calculation, planned this way by "leaks" and string pulling.

Such operations require a new sort of agent, on which the Kremlin places its main trust nowadays. While we continue looking exclusively for the old-style cloak-and-dagger man, who buys or steals secrets to pass along to his headquarters, Red emphasis has been put on a rationalized, new-type agent, without neglecting the old, of course. We are still focusing on the old, as we were in World War II. Then, along with the British, we were putting the low men on our totem pole, who had slight if any useful data anyway, under rigorous and penalizing security checks. Moscow simply acquired agents who mingled with the new, intellectual elite at the top on terms of equality, were sometimes members of it themselves. They infiltrated the White House and other topmost Government offices. These were gentlemen all. Gentlemen talked frankly between themselves in comradely manner. Secrets were much easier to steal this way, and immensely more reliable. We might cringe at the idea that Red agents, bought and paid for by the enemy, had entree and became members of the White House entourage, but we can brush it out of our minds only at our own peril. As such things happened, they can happen again. Making believe they never did would make sure of it. But they would happen in the new form, while we would be looking for the old, as usual.

The new-style, pro-Red agent has his role to influence policy, stalling or frustrating it, making it fail or end up by hurting ourselves.

Need any more be done to wreak the destruction of a nation, no matter how many billions it pours out in defense and foreign aid? This is an integral portion of the pattern I'm speaking about, the heart of it, the main gears in the pattern for failure that we have now devised as a built-in mechanism in our Government, with coordinated ramifications in the prestige press, in educational circles, and in whatever other professions the enemy considers worth penetrating.

If we doubt that the Reds infiltrate these honored professions, let us think for a moment of how it has been fundamental Red technique to do so in every nation which it has already subverted, or is seeking to subvert abroad, and then let us ask ourselves if it is possible this is not being done in the one nation in the world which Moscow regards as its main target. Or course, it is being done here. Suppression of inquiry into communism is one way of lulling ourselves into thinking we've solved the problem of the Red agent. We can seem to get along better with Moscow this way. We aren't accused of being "antisocial." Where basic principles and survival are at stake, we'd better be very willing to be as "antisocial" as need be, and come to realize that this whole "antisocial" gambit of a popularity race is a part of the diffusion mechanism in the cold war.

These new elite agents need not—usually must not—give evidence of pro-Red bias. They operate best when they work as anti-Communist perfectionists, insisting that we make sure that every project devised to hurt the enemy is 100 percent certain to succeed, and that it won't be approved until it is perfect. This approach is enough to strangle most good projects at birth. If this doesn't work, and a project cannot be stopped, there can be some clause inserted which makes it operationally useless to our own side, or even helpful to the enemy. I include in this our late, ill-fated and betrayed Cuban expedition. I've already referred to such instances at a previous session.

Nothing is over perfect, of course, and anything and everything can be interpreted to its own defeat. This is one of the most effective tactics in our pattern for failure. The problem of Red manipulation and espionage has become more complex, exactly as our precision instruments, but we must go on to solve it, with the realization uppermost in our minds that the fundamental law of the land is its survival as a free and viable nation, and that this law is higher than any other, inviolable—except at the price of a futile and unforgivable death. The kindest thing a rewritten history could do for any American who had helped bring about our defeat would be to not mention him, to make him an unperson.

This is the background against which I'm analyzing this Red manifesto. It inferentially recognizes that under the hush-hush of anti-anti-Communist pressures, a grassroots movement against communism had nonetheless developed in American society. I watched it grow. As yet, it is composed for the most part of local groups and, even neighborhood folk who come together out of a natural sense of there being something raw put over on our country on behalf of communism.

These local groups have even yet little or no contact with each other, and get little or no normal publicity. They range over the board in other respects, from left to right, from labor to management. Of course, as in any big, growing organization, some crackpots can be found.

In this atmosphere, some national organizations have formed, and various groups have been organized, that arrange seminars on communism, and give courses on communism in various cities and communities. Some collaboration was achieved for it from the official American training program that came out of our degrading experience in the prisoner-of-war camps of North Korea. After all, the American people were told, by Presidential directive, to enlist home, school, and church in a drive to help restore those submerged or displaced elements in our good character, as part of the national training program of the military, on which our survival would certainly depend. Our North Korean experiences showed our youth to have been the butt of softening-up pressures subtly incorporated into our own society, weakening and corrupting his fiber. In the past, the teaching of physical survival stamina was sufficient. The home, clergy, and schools could be depended on to provide the morality. This wasn't true any more. Mental survival stamina had now to be specifically taught. We are given no alternative except surrender.

The anti-Communist sentiment of the public, generally, was still being effectively blocked by the hush-hush imposed by the anti-anti-Communists. This gave the anti-Communists the feeling of being boxed in and isolated, being all alone. It led to frustration, creating a sense of hopelessness and bitterness. Creeping defeatism was brought into our midst during this time, and soon started changing form from an enemy tactic to a social characteristic. This is propaganda climate.

Mr. Soudwine. What do you mean exactly by propaganda climate? Mr. Hunter. Propaganda climate is one of the most effective techniques of the Red cold war, especially applicable to anticommunism. I can tell a roomful of men, for instance, to put on, or take off, their coats, and they'll laugh at me. I can go outside and quietly raise or lower the thermostat, and in a few minutes, they'll begin removing or putting on their coats without me saying a word. Thus, in propaganda, is what I mean by creating a climate. Once achieved, what otherwise would be recognized as treason, as the *Amerasia* case during World War II, seems otherwise to ordinary intelligent people, and they justify this by calling it sophistication, or applying some other high-sounding label that gives them special privileges as, say, intellectuals.

One of the many ramifications of anti-anti-communism is in our personnel selection and personnel screening. The squeezing out of personnel motivated in an anti-Communist direction, and the screening in of so-called anti-anti-Communists, has been one of the long-range activities of the Red mechanism through the years, at which it has had marked success. Much of this success comes from the creation of a propaganda climate favorable to this attitude.

Obviously, the more the anti-Communist issue becomes confused and smeared as controversial, and the more the impression spreads that those in positions of power, who must be depended upon for advancement, want anticommunism softpedaled, and anti-Communists boycotted, the greater will the Red success be in implementing this personnel policy, in and out of government.

Propaganda climate has had the effect of eliminating from consideration for jobs in the cold war practically all—there are a few, notable exceptions—who have records of accuracy and steadfastness

in this field. This propaganda climate more and more broadened beyond the mere word-of-mouth stage to drastic economic pressures and cruel social pressures, which lately have included even overt discussion of the sanity of persons who are anti-Communist generally, soberly referring to this as if it were something to be taken for granted in the mental health field. This has spread out, too, into fields which have anti-Communist implications, as in our national defense. Participants in organizations for a so-called sane policy allude to the insanity of their opponents.

The double standard, it is plain to see, is of great encouragement to pro-Reds and discouragement to anti-Reds. A Hiss can be sure of a good-paying job; the person branded anti-Communist is eliminated from consideration. He is treated as if there were something criminal about anticommunism, as if it were the same, only the opposite extreme, of pro-Red espionage. This upside-down situation has developed in such a one-sided, disadvantageous manner to the anti-Communist that he must be particularly strong-willed, if not bull-headed, in order to survive, unless he has an income of his own, possibly inherited—or a pension. The new Red anti-Communist drive is hitting particularly at those who have a pension for their support.

The trait of inflexible will that an anti-Communist requires for economic survival then is thrown against him as fanaticism, therefore dangerous thinking, in the so-called liberal lexicon. Certain words have come to apply especially to the anti-Communist, such as "controversial." This exploits a basic vulnerability of American business, to please the customer—"the customer is always right." Extended into politics or diplomacy, this could become the means for our destruction, for in spite of the aid program, the people we deal with abroad are not "always right." They can be willing conspirators against us, if they feel it of advantage to their own country. This is a particular advantage that the Reds are exploiting in their so-called aid program, and in their propaganda about the assumed "inevitability" of their victory. The bandwagon reflex is an unconditional one, not like our popularity race, an artificiality or conditioned reflex.

This is the propaganda climate for softening us up. To be effective, it must operate in the manner called "voluntary" in Communist language, meaning induced, enforced, operating as a conditioned reflex, unthinkingly—the Pavlovian way.

We must not know about this strategy, for it to work. So the pattern for failure, at taxpayers' expense, has the concealment of brainwashing and Pavlov as one of its tactics. Just before coming here, I was given one product of this thinking, a book called "Coercive Persuasion." Here a little group of soft-minded psychiatrists and sociologists, who all along have been seeking to hush up this subject, admittedly without firsthand knowledge, admittedly basing their findings on a selected, very small segment of persons who had been put under mind attack, came forth with the predictable conclusion that brainwashing didn't exist in the POW camps in North Korea, that Pavlov had nothing to do with it, that our men who were exploited against us in a treasonable manner in those Red camps were merely presented with better arguments.

This book should be put on the same shelf as "Strategic Surrender," a U.S. Government-financed book. It was the first time in history

any nation paid to have a book written on how to surrender. The preparatory, appeasement word we hear more and more—getting us used to it nowadays on such matters as Red China—is "inevitability." That's the sleazy word brought forth by those who lack the courage to admit they are urging us to give in to blackmail. "Better Red than dead" is their slogan, and it emanates from closed minds in scholarly circles, such as Lord Bertrand Russell's.

This appeasement and surrender library, financed by our own Government, directly or indirectly, and by foundations, is growing steadily and stealthily. It constitutes the reading matter for the pattern of failure. The nuclear fission field is a prime target. Each step leads to another sophisticated argument for capitulation in one way or another. First we must sit back philosophically to accept the brunt of the first blow. Then, because we will have been so disastrously shattered, so-called massive retaliation presumably can't win for us, anyway. Retaliation—actually resistance—then would be merely a form of revenge, according to this thinking—beneath the dignity of so high-minded and socially conscious a people as the Americans. So we should forego even retaliation. These are not vapors of my imagination; they're to be found (in more sophisticated language, I admit) in the publications of Government-financed or foundation-supported publications and programs. They're part of the pattern for failure. It works out as a pattern for self-destruction, or suicide.

The anti-Communist movement, pounded by all these pressures, might well have found it simply impossible to reach any meaningful proportions if it weren't for our experience in the Korean prisoner-of-war brainwashing camps, and the resultant program instituted during President Eisenhower's administration, with a code set up for the first time for captured Americans, and a directive for the restoration of character through concerted effort in all strata of our society.

This helped to compensate for the hush-hush in the anti-anti-Communist press, and even for the smears accompanying it. This restored enough of the balance and gave persons of anti-Communist motivation the hope and proof that they weren't alone, that they had friends. Members of our Reserve Forces, who certainly had every right to express themselves as civilians, became the connecting link, and often provided the know-how. They participated in seminars and discussions and went to lectures, by their mere presence constituting a great morale incentive. At times, as is customary in our democratic society, persons still in uniform were invited to come and give talks, providing further know-how for the public.

The grassroots movement spread. Old-fashioned character was its theme. Anticommunism was its immediate expression. The code for captured military personnel, the report to the Secretary of Defense by a special board set up to survey the subject generally, and President Eisenhower's proclamation that went along with it, gave this a perfectly legal base. Why a legal base was needed for a perfectly natural and normal approach in a free society is beyond me, but apparently, under our double standard, what is excluded is only anticommunism.

The program as officially enunciated by our Commander in Chief was to train and alert our people in the tactics used by Communists. The Reds couldn't get around this effectively, and so the grassroots movement began to flourish.

The program to train and alert our youth, hence our public, could be sabotaged, though, and so it was from the start. I told about it in a recent book, "Brainwashing: From Pavlov to Powers." This is an expanded edition of an earlier book. In a chapter that I added at the end, entitled "Now It's Our Turn," I told of the sense of great achievement that the adoption of the program for character building gave to American officers. I met one of them some time later. Here is how I describe the experience:

In contrast to his previous exuberance, he was downcast as we walked along a Virginia street. "I can't put my fingers on it, but it was as if nothing had happened," he said. "As if it were a dream. Once the documents were signed and proclaimed, they were filed away, and that was the end of them. I never thought it possible. The program that was to restore American stamina and teach our forces to understand the wiles of communism had been sabotaged. I am terribly fearful of our future."

Education about communism was harassed until it became vague and meaningless. The withdrawal of the Air Center Training Manual early in 1960 is an instance of how this operated. The charges in the manual were undoubtedly true, it was admitted. Congressmen were told that the training "must not include the specific." We teach that generalities must not be trusted. With generalities and the specific both excluded, the only recourse was to drop the subject, leaving the field to the Communists by default.

The policy of being all things to all men and making popularity the objective of policy, took precedence over the teaching of mental stamina and character. Referring later in the book to the case of Captain Powers, captured by the Reds, I said:

He might have stepped forth from a prisoner-of-war camp in North Korea back in 1953, for all the knowledge he showed of the ways and wiles of the Communists. The intervening years had been brushed away, as if we had learned nothing from this dreary experience. Our new code and its accompanying documents had only lulled the American public's anxieties, not providing the internal reforms promised.

The reception given this book, too, was hush-hush, as if to prove its point.

What has become quite evident by now is that our people are far ahead of the Government in realization of the Red danger, and desire to do something positive about it. The people's voice, however, was muffled, misinterpreted, and lied about. So-called social engineering became the order of the day. An engineering job is now being attempted on the public mind, conditioning it to the same sophistries that had proven disastrous to our foreign policy in the years since we ended the war. Then we were more powerful than any nation in history. We were coercively persuaded to forego or betray the responsibility that went with this power.

But the seed sown by many lone workers and groups in the anti-Communist vineyard had not fallen on barren soil, as they had been told, but had grown. As the Communist network now saw, it was being harvested as our grassroots, anti-Communist movement. Hence the Red manifesto's expanded anti-anti-Communist drive.

The primary target, as it is developing, is the Pentagon, specifically the program to train and alert our troops and our people to the Red techniques, and the inherent evil in communism. The Reds have seen that this program, and the directives issued to implement it, in spite of sabotage, do make the big difference. Unless this program can be destroyed, the anti-Communist movement cannot be liquidated.

So the forces are joined between enforcement of the Red manifesto and the implementation of the training program that came out of the Korean war.

The experience of recently retired Lt. Col. Gunther Hartel, who knows Nazi and Communist tactics from rubbing up against them in Germany and Austria as an intelligence chief, and who later experienced Red cold war at its boiling point in Vietnam, alone could bear out much of these findings. He learned the hard way.

He recently retired from the military, and as a civilian, went into a New York City organization created by public-spirited men in private life, called American Strategy, Inc. Here, he felt, was an opportunity to share his knowledge of the totalitarian menace—he equates the Nazis with the Communists, as interchangeable—and help alert our public to the facts of life in cold war.

Remember, about this expression "cold war," the Reds put their emphasis on the word "war," understanding that "cold" is merely an adjective, indicating a temporary war tactic, while we put our stress on the adjective, "cold," lulling ourselves to the coexistence lullaby of the Reds.

The termites in the woodwork soon began to detect this new effort in which Colonel Hartel was a participant, and started boring away in accordance with the anti-anti-Communist pattern.

The smear began in the New York Post on May 25, in an editorial which for compactness and technique deserves whatever is the equivalent of a Pulitzer Prize for the expertly executed in propagandized misinformation. All the derogatory trigger words were brought in. Why? What possibly could be the real motive?

Colonel Hartel, nonetheless, is kept busy giving talks on Communist tactics throughout greater New York. His experience is much the same as I came upon elsewhere. Suburban newspapers, and of course the public generally, are anxious to obtain all the facts they can, and to help as much as they can. Not so in the major cities, though. In New York, there was the same anti-anti-Communist press blackout, except for smear material. "Anywhere outside the big city, we get terrific publicity," he told me. In New York City, such ventures get practically nothing, or smears. From my personal experience, I can say that public feeling is misrepresented, not mirrored, by this anti-anti-Communist maneuver.

Gradually, even in small towns, obviously prepared attacks now are beginning. They are still the exception, but nonetheless constitute an effort to duplicate, on a smaller canvas, what is the prevalent situation on the big city canvas, as I came across it in places as far apart as Atlanta and Milwaukee.

I cannot stress the importance of this Red manifesto too much in connection with these various developments, for it outlines the tactics to be used against the United States during coexistence. After referring to "concrete historical conditions"—as emphatic a label as we can find in dialectical materialism—it brings up the anti-Communist movement in the United States. This is unprecedented in a Red document. By it, Moscow recognizes the importance of this popular movement, a great tribute to those who have been working against seemingly hopeless odds. Moscow ought to know what is hurting the Communist effort.

Anticommunism is recognized in the manifesto as not confined to the rich or the privileged, which is the propaganda line the Reds take, but to be spreading through the masses. This was implied, in Red lingo, in the injunction to "wage a resolute struggle" with "greatest effort" to keep anticommunism from the "working people" and from those whom the Communists call "the masses", meaning the public in general.

The manifesto declared that anticommunism was "the principal ideological weapon" of the opponents of communism, thus recognizing it as a major peril to Red advance. Hitherto, world communism had brushed off anticommunism in the United States as a purely local phenomenon of very limited scope, not requiring any attention from the international hierarchy. The anti-anti-Communist movement in the United States was supposed to be fully able to blanket it satisfactorily.

At the time of the sensationalized McCarthy era, we had no grassroots movement, or anything comparable. World communism leaped into the "struggle" then, revolving its propaganda assault around this one man. The present anti-Communist phenomenon is of immensely greater depth, for it is now a people's movement, that derives its direction from the public. When Senator McCarthy was active, the public was not alert to communism as any special danger to the United States. We were still in the World War II stupor into which we had been put when Nazi Germany attacked Soviet Russia, forcing Moscow onto the Allied side. This is no longer the situation, for the public now wants to do something about communism, and wants to see something positive come out of official circles.

During the years of hush-hush, our channels of communication, to all practical purposes, closed their pages to anticommunism, ignored or downgraded anti-Communist books and writings, neutralized or squeezed out anti-Communist editors, authors and speakers, and made the anti-Communist a socially undesirable person—labeled "anti-social." All the forces of propaganda were focused on his annihilation by discrediting him and his works. Nonetheless, an anti-anti-Communist movement developed.

The Red manifesto makes plain that ideological differences are not to be allowed to stand in the way of crushing this anticommunism in America. Non-Communist and even anti-Communist elements are to be employed for Red anti-Communist ends, to be exploited as far as possible under the hackneyed "unity" program, or without any overt program at all, just so long as a popular or even a desirable end can be diverted into bringing about the Communist objective, which is the liquidation of the anti-Communist movement, with the carpet to be pulled out from under the Pentagon program, to assure a Red victory in this cold war battle.

Anti-anti-communism, since the appearance of the manifesto, has come out into the open, taking the offensive, as anyone acquainted with Red tactics should have been able to predict. Open attack has begun to supplement the former hush-hush, without replacing the suppressive aspects. All the well-known tactics employed by the Reds in their pressure campaigns are more and more being brought to bear. Such Red campaigns start with smears and character assassination and go on to vicious rumor-mongering and the employment of the "big drive" technique, in which all forms of public pressures are

focused on the target, from petitions and demonstrations to blackmail and corruption.

The use of united front and youth group tactics places a special and heavy responsibility on our public-spirited people, those who genuinely seek the betterment of our society, especially our youth, imbued with an idealism which must not be lost. The Moscow directive, in an insulting aloofness, as if our best motivated citizens were just another breed of Pavlovian dog to be conditioned, has started the exploitation of our youth and civic-minded citizenry in an utterly callous, overt manner, to use them to strangle the anti-Communist grassroots movement, and to put pressure on the White House and the Pentagon to interpret the anti-Communist training program into confused inaction, while awaiting its formal cancellation.

People must not allow themselves to be used this way. As in any fight, they have to determine each step they take by the degree of aid and comfort it gives the enemy, and the dangers involved. This is no easy choice in the fluid cold war arena.

The attrition of the Pentagon training and alertness program, and its abolition in practice, whether its formal abolition can be put over or not, is by a propaganda flank attack. Communism cannot be meaningfully discussed without reference to Soviet Russia, the satellites and Red aggression, and infiltration in places such as southeast Asia and Africa. Examples must be given, taken from life. These concern international affairs, of course, and the different personalities in those lands. Those who would hamstring or abolish the program in the Pentagon can be expected, therefore, to ignore cold war factors, and "psywar" in general, and to lay all their stress on the traditional separation of politics and nonmilitary matters from military discussion. By forbidding the participation of the military in seminars or forums where politics and policy are discussed, anti-Communist preparedness can be torpedoed, and the character-building aspects of the program can be eliminated. As became evident in the Pentagon while prisoners of war were still being exchanged, it is just too late to instill convictions—mental survival stamina—into our youth when they already are of military age. It has to be done before.

This attrition process is already underway in the Pentagon. Anti-communism is being interpreted in such a manner through prompt censorship of all such material, as to take the sting out of it, and leave it a sterile, philosophical concept. The Reds don't mind this. The impression has been given that to be anti-Communist is to "stick one's neck out," and selling this impression to the public is a suppression tactic in itself. People speak vaguely of "White House" or "State Department" wishes, as if this meant President Kennedy's expressed will, or Secretary Rusk's. Even if it were so, there would be highly questionable factors in an American President or a Secretary of State "passing the word along," instead of proceeding through formal channels, on matters on which the public has been led to believe a certain policy was being implemented. Rather, I have come to believe that "the White House" and "State" have gradually come to mean any one of the hundreds of staff members who work in the executive offices, and in practice any one of the extremely contrasting characters used as advisers, or for any other purpose of background or guidance, by any one of the men formally designated as aids or advisers to the President, including his official spokesman,

and the multitude of State Department officials. Thus it has come about that an impression has become quite common that the White House (or State Department) wants the Communist issue soft-pedaled, is against anticommunism, thinks the Red menace is abroad, not at home, and that we ought to focus our attention on Communist intrigue in, say Laos, and not go hunting for Reds here in America.

The proffered justification for this is a numbers game; proportionately there are few known actual Communists. So, it is argued, they must be ineffective. Yet one Fuchs can be all the Reds need in a situation of decisive strategic importance, and one opportunist—he doesn't even have to be a knowledgeable Red—would be sufficient to draw the sting from, say an anti-Communist training program on a military base, whose personnel has to come directly to grips with communism.

All sorts of signs, which in themselves would be without implication, do take on significance on this issue through their repetition in varied form. The cold war has reached its most intense stage, and the need for the bucking and understanding of an informed public is unquestioned, or is supposed to be.

Some of the congressional publications contain material on the Red menace that is available nowhere else. Many of these are offered for sale by the Government Printing Office, which issues a biweekly list of new publications and occasionally a special list of publications on specific subjects, including one "relating to various aspects of communism." There is a greater need than ever for such publications now. Various States, New York and Florida among them, have provided courses in the schools which explain and expose Communist tactics.

Unfortunately, not all departments and agencies of the Government are consistently supporting anti-Communist efforts.

Surely it didn't just happen that the fine Champion of Liberty postage stamp series is being faded out of existence. Only the Moscow-Peking bloc could have found anything to object to in it. The proclamation of a Captive Nations Week, when such actions take place, has its impact diminished. If we think we're pleasing all sides this way, my experience of many years abroad convinces me that we only succeed in disgusting all sides by such devices. Technically, this may be a decision of the Post Office, but so far as public impression is concerned, it is supporting evidence for the rumors about "the word being passed along," a distinctly morale-breaking device, amoral in its nature. It's the old anti-anti-Communist movement in more vigorous form. The Reds again are able to demonstrate that when the talk is over, they end up by getting what they want.

Where youths abound, as on college campuses, we can witness their exploitation in accordance with the instructions in the Red Manifesto. I am always somewhat astonished, although I should be accustomed to it by now, by the frank manner in which some enemy of the United States tells exactly how he intends to attack us, and how each time he can depend on confusionists and people who refuse to believe that he really means what he says, to cover up for him. The manifesto plainly declares: "There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism," and we make believe these words mean what they do in our dictionary, instead of in the Red language, in which peace means submission by all to communism, and the regimented procedure of the Communist bloc is called democracy. In this manifesto, too, the Red tenet is repeated "that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily."

How more clearly do we expect the Peking-Moscow Axis to say that, when we're sufficiently softened up, we'll be put out of our capitalist miseries with a collectivized space punch? They won't say so more openly until after the event.

No wonder our foreign friends grow desperate over our limitless naiveté, if it can any longer be correctly labeled by such a nonviolent term. Our naiveté certainly had violent consequences for the freedom fighters in Hungary.

Mr. SOUWINE. How would you summarize Communist strategy in the Red anti-anti-Communist drive that you are describing?

Mr. HUNTER. In a new anti-anti-Communist drive, the Reds are exerting more intensified pressure, in a more obvious manner, employing such distinctly Red techniques as followthrough and coordination.

Coordination and followthrough, used as "psywar" tactics, can make almost anything possible of achievement. Without these two supports to reinforce and broaden the front, the best-thought schemes, and those with the mightiest potential, become duds, or fade out with such small impact that the net result is frustration, with all the disastrous effects this leads to. I have watched these tactics being successfully exploited by the enemy again and again. The Communists owe much of their consistent and stupendous victories in propaganda and in psychological warfare to their use of coordination and followthrough. We have had fairly consistent results, too—only these were failures—because we lacked coordination and followthrough. Indeed, the first evidence I've seen of it on our side seems to be the strange support for the new Red anti-anti-Communist drive.

Coordination and followthrough in "psywar" apply with the force of law, the same way as natural law, to all indiscriminately, irrespective of the right and the wrong of an issue. They're tools of the trade that can be employed as weapons on any side. The present Red anti-anti-Communist drive is a glaring example of their employment in psychological warfare, and it only recently began. Its signs are still few, visible mainly to the specialist who has the time for this kind of research. But they will be many, and broadly apparent to all, within a short time.

Coordination means the enlistment of all possible—at least all needed—persons of influence and groups of various kinds in support of or against a project. In this way, attack can be launched simultaneously from all directions, the enemy position infiltrated, and hit from flank and rear. Coordination also extends the scope of an attack to other fronts as well.

Followthrough means the creation and implementation of separate supporting and expanding activities and projects, to gain every possible advantage from an initial attack, benefiting from the impetus it gives in throwing an enemy off balance, holding the initiative as long as possible. Perhaps it derives from a different outlook. We've been raised to lift a man up if he falls down. Red technique is to begin kicking when he's stumbled and is already down.

One only has to describe these tactics for them to be recognized as part of a time-tried, Red strategy. The Communists have developed a system to both coordinate and followthrough in their "psywar" offensives, such as the present anti-anti-Communist drive. They do it by using fronts, by granting a virtual semiautonomy to local groups in the fulfillment of policy and projects, although always strictly within the framework of Communist Party line.

Without those two tactics, the Communist network could not have achieved a fraction of its gains, and probably would have been eliminated long ago. Without them, we get nowhere with our propaganda and psychological warfare. Adding funds make no difference, except perhaps adding to the frustration. This makes it worse for our side. So it has been.

This may be understandable, but hardly forgivable. There is no valid excuse for our failure in this field. We have a system nowadays that in effect eliminates coordination and followthrough by making the procedure too cumbersome, and too vulnerable to negative attitudes, wittingly or unwittingly. I have watched this negative pattern in operation too long to doubt its existence. It has been too effective in the destruction of projects to escape everybody's notice. Efforts to get at it, though, are about as rewarding as an attempt to grab hold of a handful of water. One must be terribly naive to think all this just happened, that there's nothing deliberate about it. I attribute it to those I call terrorists in the woodwork, who make sure we do not achieve coordination and followthrough.

Our critical need for coordination has been recognized, and remedial steps even devised, but they have always been diverted or paralyzed and when no other means of prevention were of avail, flatly disallowed without explanation, or for whatever irrelevant excuse served the purpose. The same holds true for lack of followthrough. I have watched all this too long to consider it otherwise than as part of a pattern for failure.

The anti-Communist movement that has grown up in the traditional grassroots manner in our country is a heaven-sent opportunity to bring coordination and followthrough into our "psywar" strategy. The really thrilling and inspiring part of it is that this coordination and followthrough was achieved in the anti-Communist movement within the framework of our free democratic and republican society of private initiative. It's just a start, of course, but already effective.

Red strategy is essentially weak because it is artificial; their fronts are false fronts, their unity is a deceit—nothing like what we call our bipartisan policy. Except for our default, communism would have collapsed long ago. Only in a free society can there be genuine coordination between all strata and classes of society, in and out of government, united in common purposes. This is what we have begun to achieve in our anti-Communist movement, in spite of timidity and even antagonism in high places, and a hush-hush in communications channels.

This is the genuine collaboration that the Red anti-anti-Communist drive is out to destroy. Fundamentally, the whole process of anti-communism in the United States is diametrically opposed to the Red manner of operation and would be fatal to it once it could become stable, and sure of its ground. This is why the Red manifesto has summoned its followers, dupes, and opportunists to destroy it by all means, before it can attain solidity. Anti-Communists in the United States now have to fight a two-front war, against attack from their rear, as well as in front.

This is a historic crossroads in our struggle. Some day we shall have to seek unity against Communist attack, if we are to survive. The Reds have made it plain; they will accept only our surrender. If we stand by now and see this genuine, people's anti-Communist movement, with its collaborators in all spheres of our life, certainly

in the Pentagon, succumb before the Red call for its destruction, we shall have to rebuild it from the ashes of apathy and frustration. Then it would perforce get so much Government control that we may find it impossible to avoid a regimentation that would be dangerously similar to that which we are fighting. This is the destination of those elements in our society, who might be fooling themselves into thinking they're not helping the Communists, but who nonetheless want power centralized and controlled from the center alone, because they lack faith in the American people and in private initiative.

Once more we come to the double standard. An anti-Communist movement is supposed to be basically undesirable, but an anti-anti-Communist movement is not, whether overtly or covertly, part of Red "psywar" planning. Here, too, if we seek out any logic in this, it is that the common denominator in this attitude is always what is helpful to the Communists. Those who are ignorant of the tactics of "psywar" can guide themselves by a simple, down-to-earth principle. If a policy or project helps the enemy, it is probably against our interests and certainly should be avoided until the balance is brought over to our favor.

We should take great encouragement from the fact that the anti-Communist movement in America was a spontaneous development, in the American manner, out of needs and worries felt locally. We should keep in mind, too, that only when the anti-Communist movement began to go places, and to have success—alerting people to the evils of communism, teaching them how to spot it—did the roof fall in with this Red, anti-anti-Communist drive.

Again we see how the Communists employ coordination and followthrough, with high places involved. The Red manifesto specifically opens the door to an involvement tactic called unity. By ignoring ideological differences and excessive control factors, they give people a sense of real participation and a false sense of initiative. All that is demanded by the Red network is action in accordance with the needs of the anti-anti-Communist drive, so as to pull the carpet out from under the Pentagon, for instance, in our anti-Communist training and alertness program.

The signs show that once again the Reds are being able to exploit high places in support of a Communist objective. The tactic is gradually to surround each central figure with fait accompli and vested interests in pronouncements made without full grasp of their significance, until he is a prisoner of the anti-anti-Communist drive, irrespective of the individual's actual dislike for communism.

This isn't difficult to put across in the narrow framework of opportunistic thinking, with the restricted loyalties that gloss it over. Anything that can be considered to have political overtones or undertones—and what doesn't—becomes fair game, irrespective of the harm done our country in the process. The pro-Reds have no serious problem exploiting this. It's made to order for them—their orders. Indeed, once brought into this realm, even shipments of strategic products of our factories to the Communists, which ordinarily would be recognized at once as treasonable, receive mysterious approval and, through backstage pressure, get into Red hands without the information slipping out to the American people.

* A study entitled "The Technique of Soviet Propaganda," published by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, is available at the Government Printing Office and may be consulted at some libraries.

Opposition to such shipments then falls into the category of "anti-communism," and receives the smear treatment, if the hush-hush isn't sufficient. Somehow, an official who blocks such shipments may confidently expect to be penalized from some well-concealed direction. Perhaps a columnist or a self-seeking politician will come forth with a smear against him on some extraneous matter. Soon everyone will be barking in the Pavlovian manner, chasing him down the garden pathway, off on a trail that makes no sense. The poor victim doesn't know what bit him. The grim joke about it is that few in the wolfpack know why they are barking.

Where matters end up by helping a Communist objective, such as the Red anti-anti-Communist drive, all too often of late, we can detect obvious collaboration and follow-through between some Government offices and certain sections of the press.

This is part of our now built-in system, with its concealing committee complex. Under such circumstances, steps taken to control the diffusion of information to the public results in giving the edge, or the monopoly, to clandestine exploitation of it. The Reds have certainly shown themselves to be masters in that kind of play. They've had years of experience in perfecting it around the world. The obsession of the American reporter to get an "exclusive" makes him the world's most vulnerable for a planted news item. An "exclusive" is all too often, in this environment, a reward for closing one's eyes to the background of an item. This is a part of the pattern.

Don't confuse "exclusives" with "scoops," gentlemen. "Exclusives" have come generally to mean rewards for favors done; scoops are won by personal initiative. They're as different as "seeking" news from "gathering" news.

If you don't think there's a vast gulf of difference, read the reams of debate on the subject during discussion in the U.N. General Assembly's Social Committee over the wording of the so-called free-press provision. The Red bloc insisted on the right to "gather" news, which obviously would be handouts, or "exclusives" discreetly distributed. We wanted the right to "seek"—seek out—news. The last I heard, as was to be expected, we had compromised by accepting—certainly not vetoing—the Red bloc's version of a "free press." This is in accordance with our popularity obsession, of course, as contrasted with our abandoned adherence to principles. Each time we think we've added to our popularity this way, we've only chiseled away a bit more of freedom, which then makes us even less popular than before.

It's also part of the double standard. When an item is printed that is pro-Communist in effect, it's called enterprising journalism—"being objective"—and we let go at that. When it's anti-Communist, it's "being subjective" and branded a breach of security, or at least a breach of confidence, and indignant voices are raised demanding the practice be rooted out and made impossible of recurrence.

We've been conditioned to this double standard, so that unless we stop and think about it, making a deliberate effort, we are inclined to let the most glaring examples go undetected. So-called liberals are demanding that the military drop its anti-Communist training and alertness program. Those who take this line say it's because the military should be held to strictly military matters, and should let other, civilian, departments deal wholly with the rest. The impres-

sion is given that this is a matter of principle, and has nothing to do with the anticommunism of it. They're such people of principle!

But aren't they the same persons who were silent when pro-Communist indoctrination courses, glossing over the most extreme Red excesses, giving the Red slant on such matters as Chinese politics, dealing frankly with the political aspects of world problems, were being given by the U.S. Army? Our wartime information and education instruction sheets were sometimes as Red as Mao Tse-tung. They were frequently slanted to the Red side. So-called liberal circles were in favor of this program. Then, too, it was called a matter of principle. Then they said that soldiers had to learn for what and whom they were fighting. When principles switch abruptly, they're not principles, they're expressions of dialectical materialism, sugar coated to American taste, sheer opportunism or plain hypocrisy.

Everyone knows about the political commissar system of the Red Army. That's been improved upon since Stalin's day—integrated, as it were. Let me quote from an article by Red Army Gen. F. Golikov, head of the Chief Political Administration—what a title—of the Soviet Army and Navy. He wrote in *Krasnaya Zvezda* of May 27, 1959, as follows (*Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, p. 12, vol. XI, No. 22):

For the successful accomplishment of the tasks of ideological and educational work in the armed forces we place great hopes in the rapidly growing ties of the Chief Political Administration and the lower level political agencies with the professional organizations of writers, artists, composers, journalists, and theater and motion picture workers.

The military discipline of the personnel must be further strengthened with all the means of ideological work.

The way we're heading now, with the pressure tightening on our most experienced and trustworthy Pentagon officers to restrict public statements to a constantly intensified central control, particularly as concerns communism, we're edging into a situation where we will find that, in effect, we will have adopted the method described by General Golikov. We will not have ceased indoctrination, but we will have regimented it—opposite the way we intended. If anticommunism is lushed up by default, we'll find that we'll be returning by default to the World War, pro-Red tone of our military's information and education program. The hush-hush really silences only one side; that is how it has consistently worked out.

In this modern world of mind warfare, that is being waged against us, it is impossible to remain static. If we're not allowed to train and alert people against communism, they will be softened up to be victims of it. The communications field is just too vast, having expanded even faster in the transportation of messages than in the transportation of people and freight. Let the Red anti-anti-Communist drive attain its immediate objective, and we will make sure its long-range objective will be attainable, too. This will be the mental and moral disarmament of our people, in and out of military service.

Suppression of the anti-Communist training and alertness program is to mind warfare what our one-sided disarmament would be in the weapons field. We would have no alternative to surrender, to the fulfillment of the creeping defeatism best characterized by the horrible slogan, "Better Red than dead."

Mr. SOURWINE. You say a definitive stage in this new Red program against anticommunism has now been reached?

Mr. HUNTER. The new Red, anti-anti-Communist drive has been ordered by the Soviet Communist hierarchy, speaking through and by the voice of the Communist parties of the world, gathered in a rare conclave. This becomes fundamental law and basic strategy, obligatory on all Communists. There can be no question of its implementation. The only possible question left to Communist Party people are the most effective methods, guaranteeing the maximum impact, by which these orders can be put into effect. Let me stress again that they constitute orders to combat the anti-Communist movement headon in the United States, no longer through the comparative restraint of what might be called the pseudoliberal anti-anticommunism of the past.

Ideological differences are to be submerged. This means that we can expect the Red objective to be cloaked in every kind of disguise, made palatable to every important grouping in our society, the pro-Red aspect concealed where possible. We can expect, too, to find our idealistic youth, especially in our institutions of higher learning, callously employed as a front in this Red drive. This will present us with a very difficult problem, to prevent or expose such intrigue for these young people who of course lack the background themselves to distinguish between a Red maneuver and an expression of sincere opinion, uninstigated by ulterior, anti-American purposes. Even more difficult it will be to persuade them to separate this chaff from the grain, when the chaff has been so tastefully sugar coated.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say this has just started, in effect, that this new anti-anti-Communist drive will intensify in the near future?

Mr. HUNTER. Although this may appear as a prediction, it isn't one at all, at least it shouldn't be to anyone who has watched and understands the ironclad pattern of Communist Party procedure, that they call discipline. Certain steps must follow, as surely as night follows day, and then night comes again. We shall witness a seemingly spontaneous outpouring of articles and persuasions of every character, that will arise all along the fringes of the communications field where the Reds have influence, and from then on, in the manner by which the "McCarthyism" drive was built up, penetrating all channels of the press and all attitude-changing segments of our society, such as schools and churches. The pro- or anti-Communist leanings of the participants will have nothing to do with the case, as seen from the surface.

The Communist Party organs will set the key. Orchestration will gradually spread from one section of the orchestra to the other, until all will be playing the same music, in a rising crescendo. This is the Red technique, to make the pressure of what will appear as public opinion so relentless and so loud that everybody will begin to dance to the same tune, and those who don't want to dance will be grabbed by their friends and neighbors and brought onto the floor, as in an American barn dance. By then, nobody will be thinking about who called the tune in the first place, and those few who do will appear as queers. This would be a hopeless situation except for one thing. If it is exposed in time, the whole Red psychological warfare gambit can be defeated with comparatively little effort.

Exactly as knowledge of brainwashing was found to be vaccination against it, knowledge of the Red intent of a propaganda drive destroys its effectiveness. We will only have to witness the orchestration, as it will begin developing very shortly now, for us to recognize this Red

anti-anti-Communist trap wherever it appears. This "psywar" booby trap will lie visible on the top of the road from then on. If we don't expose it this way, though, it will easily cripple or kill us—Khrushchev's expression for it is "burial."

Mr. SOURWINE. Could you gather this evidence—the written material that you say will appear as sure as night follows day?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes, I could.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may we ask that the witness do this, and bring us the material he has gathered, with analyses, by perhaps the end of the month, to be included as appendixes to this hearing?

Senator COTTON. That will be the order. Mr. Hunter, we expect you then to provide us with material found by you, appearing in the public press this year up to the end of July 1961, directly bearing upon the implementation of what you have described as a new Red anti-anti-Communist drive, with your own notes or analyses of the various items.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you, I will do so.

(The material referred to, submitted by Mr. Hunter on August 1, appears hereafter as appendixes.)

Mr. SOURWINE. There is one thing more, perhaps, I have several papers here. I wonder if you will glance at them, tell me if you have seen them before, and in any case, give us your reaction. Here is the first one.

Mr. HUNTER. I have not seen this before. Should I read this aloud?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, please do so.

Mr. HUNTER. This is a Secretary of Defense document dated March 10, 1961, for the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force reading:

(1) There is presently being established within the Office of the Secretary of Defense centralized procedures for evaluating materials designed for indoctrination of personnel of the Defense Department in the general area of international affairs and related fields. This evaluation will apply to all materials, written, pictorial, or audio, used in training programs and troop information programs, and will be in conformance with the security and policy review regulations of the Defense Department.

(2) The film "Operation Abolition" will be retained in the film libraries on an "on call" basis for those requesting to view it, but will not be prescribed in the training of personnel. A memorandum of January 31, 1961, from the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education stated the "on call" policy for information programs and described the production of an OAFIE film covering the tactics employed by Communists seeking to manipulate youth. This film is being produced within the framework of material set forth in the House Committee on Un-American Activities print entitled "Communist Target—Youth," a report by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

(3) Another film coming within the scope of paragraph (1), which recently has been brought to our attention is entitled "Communism on the Map." Determination as to the use of this film will be deferred pending its evaluation pursuant to the procedure prescribed in paragraph (1).

This is signed by Roswell L. Gilpatric, Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your reaction?

Mr. HUNTER. Considering the date, and recalling the publicity about these films, which I have seen, it is obvious to me that, removed from the legalisms, the document can be paraphrased as saying: "Use any of these anti-Communist films at your own risk. Heaven help you if you do." I would regard this as one of the early successes of the Red anti-anti-Communist pressure drive.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is the second document on which we want your comment.

Mr. HUNTER. This, too, is new to me. This is a similar type of document, signed Carlisle P. Runge, on stationery of Assistant Secretary of Defense, dated April 21, 1961, and reading:

Subject: Narrated filmstrip "Communism on the Map."

The commercial, narrated filmstrip, "Communism on the Map" has been determined, by official review under DOD evaluation procedures, as not required for the Armed Forces training of troop information or public information programs and that it should not be purchased by the Department or used by Department of Defense personnel.

Attention is invited to the many materials in the area of anticommunism including pamphlets and motion pictures produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, which are available for troop-information programs.

The pattern, gentlemen, is being nailed down. Hard-hitting or specific training and alertness material, if this is any indication, is on the way out. Officers know the contents of this film. They will get the anti-anti-Communist message in this order. It puts them in what, I feel, is an unfair dilemma. They can't possibly arouse fighting men to risk their lives with mamby-pamby stuff that takes the sting out of Communism. Yet if they use the hard facts, they know they're probably going to have difficulties. This is the propaganda climate being created by such memorandums in the Pentagon. It couldn't be otherwise. Incidentally, to call this a commercial film is not quite true; it was produced by a college.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here are two other documents.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you. This is dated May 16, 1961. I haven't seen this, either. [Reading:]

From: Secretary of the Navy.

To: All ships and stations.

Subject: Commercial filmstrip "Communism on the Map."

1. Purpose: To promulgate the findings of an official review of subject filmstrip.

2. Background: The commercial, narrated filmstrip "Communism on the Map" has been determined, by official review under Department of Defense evaluation procedures, as not required for Armed Forces training, internal information, or public information programs. Attention is invited to the many officially-approved materials in the area of anticommunism, including pamphlets and motion pictures produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, which are available through Navy and Marine Corps information programs.

3. Action: The filmstrip "Communism on the Map" shall not be purchased by Navy or Marine Corps activities nor shall it be used by Department of Navy personnel.

4. Cancellation: This notice is canceled for record purposes on October 31, 1961. Its retention beyond that date for reference purposes is authorized.

This is signed Paul W. Fay, Under Secretary of the Navy.

I shall proceed at once to the reading of the second document, dated March 17, 1961. I have not seen this before, either. [Reading:]

From: Chief of Navy Personnel.

To: All ships and stations (less Marine Corps field addresses not having Navy personnel attached).

Subject: Materials for indoctrination of personnel in the general area of international affairs and related fields.

Enclosure: Secretary of Defense memo to the Secretaries of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force dated March 10, 1961.

1. Purpose: To forward enclosure (1) for information and guidance.

2. Discussion: Enclosure (1) announces the establishment of procedures for the centralized evaluation of written, pictorial, and audio materials designed to indoctrinate personnel in the general area of international affairs and related

fields. Such materials are used in the information and education program and in some parts of certain related programs.

3. Action: Pending further guidance, official material (listed in the I. & E. catalog or other Navy Department-approved catalog, curriculum, or training publication) previously issued or approved may continue to be used as required. Nonofficial material should not be used hereafter until evaluated in accordance with enclosure (1).

This is signed W. R. Smedberg III, Bureau of Navy Personnel.

The second of these documents merely makes sure that if there is any other hard-hitting material against our enemy laying about, or in the files, obtained in collaboration with the public in pursuance of the Presidential directive declaring this to be a problem of the military and the public both, it will not be used.

The other document merely backstops this new line. Frankly, I am quite concerned over what material will substitute for what has been withdrawn, in effect. If the withdrawn material is too strong, what replaces it obviously will be weaker. While Moscow is firming up its anti-American stand, we are softening ours, so far as the minds of the men who would have to do the fighting and dying are concerned. Yet Korea was supposed to have taught us that disaster lies along that road.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is still another document. Have you seen it before?

Mr. HUNTER. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Please read it, and let me know your reaction.

Mr. HUNTER (reading):

From: Secretary of the Navy.

To: All ships and stations.

Subject: Commercial filmstrip "Communism on the Map," May 16, 1961.

1. Purpose: To promulgate the findings of an official review of subject filmstrip.

2. Background: The commercial, narrated filmstrip "Communism on the Map" has been determined, by official review under Department of Defense evaluation procedures, as not required for Armed Forces training, internal information, or public information programs. Attention is invited to the many officially approved materials in the area of anticommunism, including pamphlets and motion pictures produced by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, which are available through Navy and Marine Corps information programs.

3. Action: The filmstrip "Communism on the Map" shall not be purchased by Navy or Marine Corps activities nor shall it be used by Department of the Navy personnel.

4. Cancellation: This notice is canceled for record purposes on October 31, 1961. Its retention beyond that date for reference purposes is authorized.

This is signed "Paul B. Fay, Jr., Under Secretary of the Navy." It brings the anti-anti-Communist drive a very big step forward, if "forward" is the proper word to use. It's certainly to the Communist advantage in the war for the mind. A fundamental objective of the Red drive is to cut off Pentagon participation in the grassroots movement that is at long last awakening our people. The American people as a nation must learn these facts, as our Government had already officially recognized, if we are to attain mental survival stamina. This order goes far—it is a tremendous step—toward forbidding such participation. We disarm unilaterally to this extent in the sphere that is crucial in this war—mind warfare. It is shocking.

Mr. SOURWINE. Here is one more.

Mr. HUNTER. Thank you. This also is new to me. This is from Atlantic Command, Headquarters of the Commander in Chief, Norfolk 11, Va., June 14, 1961, and is signed "Horatio Rivero, Deputy Chief of Staff." I will read it:

1. Purpose: To provide policy guidance of news and classification of material within the Department of Defense.

2. Discussion: At a news conference in Washington, D.C., May 26, 1961, the Honorable Robert S. McNamara discussed the subject of dissemination of information to the public and classification of material within the Department of Defense. The following extracts from the Secretary's remarks are quoted:

"The public information policies of the Department of Defense require a deliberate accommodation of two competing values. As President Kennedy has observed, the challenge of our times imposes two requirements that seem almost contradictory in tone, but which we must reconcile and which we must fulfill. There is the need for greater public information and the need for greater official secrecy."

"In order to provide some further guidance for those of us, all of us, both military and civilian officials alike, who must deal with this problem, I suggested four principles to help the members of the Department to meet both these requirements. The application of these principles, although they might restrict the flow of properly classified information to some extent, would encourage more open, more responsible discussion of the pros and cons of the national defense policies and practices. The four principles are:

"(1) In a democratic society the public must be kept informed of the major issues in national defense policy, because the most important issues are likely to be the most difficult ones; the arguments on both sides must be made clear so that there can be a consensus of coincidence in the ultimate decision. We are under a special obligation to disclose mistakes and ineffective administrative operations.

"The public has at least as much right to bad news as to good news."

"(2) It is essential to avoid disclosures of information that can be of national assistance to our potential enemies, and therefore weaken our defense position. It is equally important to avoid overclassification; when in doubt, underclassify. In no event should overclassification be used to avoid public discussion of controversial matters.

"(3) Public statements of what appears to be Department of Defense policy must reflect that policy in effect.

"(4) In public discussion all officers of the Department should confine themselves to defense matters. Avoid discussion of foreign policy matters, a field which is reserved for the President and the Department of State. This long-established principle recognizes the danger that when Defense officials express opinions as to foreign policy, their words may be taken as the policy of the Government.

3. Action: Information contained in paragraph 2 above is forwarded for information and guidance.

Mr. SOURVINE. What do you say to this?

Mr. HUNTER. If the fourth point were obeyed, in the kind of conflict in which we are engaged, we would return to the condition of mind disarmament we were in when the Reds struck in Korea. It cannot be obeyed without disobeying the directives that were supposed to enforce the code for our men who may be captured by Communists, and it cannot be obeyed without making believe there is no such thing as brainwashing, that what took place in the prisoner of war camps was a bad dream, a hallucination perhaps that never happened. We are rewriting history, in effect. We are also betraying ourselves. In the arena of the cold war, the Red anti-anti-Communist drive, as ordered by the Red manifesto of December 5, 1960, won a stunning victory for itself on—let me see, what is the date of the document? I just read—May 15, 1961. Why do we do these things? Oh well—

Mr. SOURVINE. This completes my questioning.

Senator CORTON. We will be waiting to receive your compilation of press material. Thank you, Mr. Hunter. The hearing is adjourned.

APPENDIXES

These appendixes and the accompanying prefatory notes were provided by the witness, Edward Hunter, who had been instructed to supply such written material from the press generally, to the end of July 1961, as had a direct bearing upon what he described in his testimony as the new, Red anti-anti-Communist drive, with whatever brief analysis might be required. Mr. Hunter has pointed out these are examples, with the merely cumulative omitted, and are not intended as an indictment of any individual or publication.

APPENDIX 1

The following are relevant excerpts from the "Statement of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties" as officially translated by Moscow and published in the Red theoretical organ in the United States, Political Affairs, in its January 1961 issue. (The full text as well as the complete Tass translation as printed in the New York Times on December 7 can be found in the appendix to the testimony of Jay Lovestone before this Committee last January 26 and February 2.)

The Red Manifesto is a basic strategy paper to outline Communist Party operations and, as such, makes extensive use of the Communist language of dialectical materialism, always giving this slant to its statements. In understanding Communist intent, these words and paragraphs must be translated into ordinary language, often producing the opposite words in non-Communist dictionaries.

When read this way, as the indoctrinated Communist does, Red documentation is extremely revealing of purposes and tactics otherwise successfully concealed.

For instance, a simple sentence from the Manifesto, such as "As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression," actually means, in Red language: "As long as dynamic non-Communist countries exist they may take the opportunity to resist Communist world expansion." In their writings, when Communists attack, it is "liberation" and not "aggression." The dialectical materialist dictionary is composed of the fundamental writings of Red leaders and theoreticians.

Here are the excerpts from the Manifesto:

... U.S. imperialism ... has become an enemy of the whole world. ...

In blazing a trail of communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. ...

... As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression. ...

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and maneuvers of the warmongers, to arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, to organize the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass efforts for peace, and promote coopera-

tion with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty, and preventing war. The struggle of the peoples against the militarization of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the U.S. imperialism.

No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger.

The policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of mobilizing the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful coexistence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. . . .

The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. . . . The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class struggle, it is of the utmost importance that Communists should extend their work in trade unions and cooperatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the women, in sports organizations, and the unorganized sections of the population.

The Communist Parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of nonpeaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favorable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for Communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working-class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witchhunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organizations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realize the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism.

All the Marxist-Leninist Parties are independent and have equal rights.

The Communist and Workers' Parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been, and remains, the universally recognized vanguard of the world Communist movement.

APPENDIX 2

In a massive draft program announced at Moscow by the Soviet Communist Party on July 29, the red hierarchy recognized for the second time the importance of the anti-Communist movement in the United States. The first time was in the Red Manifesto of December 5, 1960.

The new document reiterates tactics to be employed against the United States in the Red "struggle" to conquer the world, with the United States as the primary target.

Moscow's reiterated propaganda theme is that this can be achieved "peacefully"—presumably by bringing about American surrender through psychological warfare strategy, thereby preserving the Soviet Union against destruction. Hence, the coexistence line serves a dual purpose: (1) lulling the Soviet population, which actually wants peace, certainly abhors the thought of a repetition of World War II horrors, and (2) stirring creeping defeatism in the West.

Meanwhile, of course, new and continued sacrifices are evidently to be required of the Communist-dominated peoples, already suffering from shortages of food and other necessities. The document seeks to take the attention of its enslaved people from such deficiencies, and to prepare them for even more acute stringencies to follow, by making a lot of pie-in-the-sky promises of a paradise of plenty in the future.

Here is an excerpt from the text as sent abroad by Tass, the official Soviet Russian news agency, dealing with anti-communism in our land:

The chief ideological and political weapon of imperialism is anti-communism. Rallied to this black banner today are all the scumies of social progress. Anti-communism is a reflection of the extreme decadence of bourgeois ideology.

Monopoly capital engenders fascist ideology, the ideology of extreme chauvinism and racism. Anti-communism is becoming the main instrument of reaction in its struggle against the democratic forces of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The right wing of social-democracy has completely broken with Marxism and has put forward so-called democratic socialism against scientific socialism.

Historical experience has shown the bankruptcy of both the ideology and the policy of social-democracy.

Anti-communism has brought social reformism to an ideological and political impasse. This is one of the main reasons for the crisis of social-democracy.

APPENDIX 3

Cabell Phillips has been the New York Times axe man in the anti-anti-Communist movement, once it became too widespread and effective to be any longer kept under wraps. Overnight, the activities of the anti-Communist groups became the subject of long articles, which made quite a point of how extensive the campaign to alert Americans on communism had become.

Significantly, nary a whisper of this campaign had hitherto got into the New York Times, or any of the other anti-anti-Communist, prestige newspapers. Anti-communism only became news when the pillorying of the Birch Society gave them the opportunity to refer to all anti-communism as work of "the Birchites," and to smear it all indiscriminately as "right extremist." Without exception, each of the articles purporting to summarize the anti-Communist movement followed this propaganda line.

Each time, too, with a similarity that is unmistakable, and certainly enlightening on the source of these purported news articles, there is a backhanded effort to brand the whole thing as Nazi. For instance, this nearly four-column article, of May 21, ends with an anonymous refugee from Germany quoted as saying:

"Have you ever thought of the parallel between John Birch and Horst Wessel? I have, and it frightens me when I see this anti-Communist feeling getting out of hand."

If this reportage is to be believed, the "right-extremist" type is the only kind of anti-communism there is.

The article follows:

ANTI-RED DISPUTE GRIPE ILLINOISANS—INTENSIVE RIGHT-WING EFFORTS AROUSE CONTROVERSY

(By Cabell Phillips)

(Special to The New York Times)

EVANSTON, Ill., May 5.—A grass-roots campaign to inculcate an aggressive form of anti-Communist "Americanism" in all walks of life is spreading through the North Shore suburbs of Chicago.

Its intensity is disturbing the social, political and religious equanimity of many persons in this heavily populated area.

On one side are a number of conservative activists allied, in fact or in spirit, with the John Birch Society.

They contend that Communist subversion in the schools, churches and many areas of public life is endangering "fundamental Americanism," and, indeed, the very existence of the Republic. They are pursuing an active campaign of "education" and various forms of persuasion to alert their fellow citizens to the danger.

LIBERALS ON DEFENSIVE

On the other side is a loose coalition of liberals and moderates who argue that the Communist danger is being distorted and exaggerated for political ends by "right-wingers and bigots." Placed on the defensive in this conflict, they have combined their strategy largely to protests at public meetings and letters to newspapers and public officials.

Mutual antagonisms are apparent in most of these well-to-do suburban communities from Evanston north to Waukegan. But they run more deeply in some than in others.

In Glenview, for example, "Americanism" became a dominant but whispered issue in a recent village election contest. A Roman Catholic priest and a Methodist minister in the same community have taken to sniping at each other in public over the merits of the anti-Communist crusade.

In Evanston, a man who ran for the House of Representatives last fall contends that he was victimized by a "smear campaign" that associated him with Communist movements. This episode will soon reach its climax in a Federal court.

"LEFT WING" ASSAILED

The motivation behind the Americanism drive was summed up the other day by a resident of Evanston who is generally sympathetic to its objectives but not a direct participant.

"I don't believe the North Shore has a great many more actual Communists than any other similar area," he said. "But we do have a great many Left-wing thinkers dug in around the colleges and universities who seem to do the Communists' work for them. They have a lot of influence."

"But even more importantly, we have a lot of apathy and downright ignorance by the majority of the well-to-do people here. They've got good jobs, good incomes and they live in a dream world. They don't know what's going on in the world outside, or even right under their noses."

"I don't think there's anything more important than to educate them to the fact that that dream world is about to be snatched out from under them—and all the rest of us, too."

ECHOED IN MANY AREAS

Similar views have been found among conservative groups in many parts of the country. They often gain their most effective expression in an aggressive anti-communism.

The common denominator in the thinking of these groups, as observed in several weeks of travel, is that "the American way of life" is being attacked by

fifth columnists frequently operating under such "socialistic" guises as "liberalism," "the welfare state" and "one-worldism."

These ideological convictions are often accompanied by an opposition to existing tax, foreign aid and civil rights policies of the Federal Government, and by a belief that the religious and moral fiber of the nation is deteriorating because of Communist machinations.

Two organizations that have been most active in fostering this drive at the community level are the John Birch Society, headed by Robert H. W. Welch, Jr. of Belmont, Mass., and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, of which Dr. Fred C. Schwarz of Long Beach, Calif., is president.

Their tactics differ somewhat, but their aims are almost identical. The Birch Society advocates not only "education," but also the adoption, on occasion, of Communist methods to combat Communist subversion. Its belligerency goes so far, for example, as to demand the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren for furthering Communist aims.

SCHWARZ DOCTRINE

The Schwarz doctrine advocates much the same sort of "education" about the Communist menace but stops short of urging particular acts of reprisal.

Both groups have been active in the Chicago area for many years. Stillwell J. Connor, a Chicago industrialist, was quoted recently as having said that he had inducted more than 400 members into the Birch Society, mostly in the northern suburbs, since 1959. Another Birch member estimated the total membership in the Chicago area at 1,000.

Dr. Schwarz has appeared on local lecture platforms frequently, but he did not turn on the full power of his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade until late last summer. The current controversy along the North Shore dates from that time.

On Aug. 29, 1960, Dr. Schwarz opened a five-day school on anti-communism at the Glenview Naval Air Station. Sessions were held three times a day in an auditorium on the base, with an attendance of several hundred at each session. The audiences consisted of base personnel, Naval reservists and civilians from surrounding communities.

PHILBRICK ON FACULTY

The faculty included several Navy officers, Dr. Schwarz and such professionals in the field of anti-communism as Herbert Philbrick, a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Dr. E. Merrill Root, author of "Brainwashing in the High Schools"; Richard Arens, then staff director for the House Un-American Activities Committee; Prof. Anthony Bonaccorsi of LeMoyne College, Syracuse, N.Y., and others.

Dr. Schwarz' program at Glenview was similar to others he has conducted in many parts of the country, one recently in St. Louis.

It is built around a series of lectures supplemented by films, tape recordings and the sale of books and pamphlets, many written by Dr. Schwarz.

Two films are among those shown most often. One is "Operation Abolition," which depicts as Communist-managed the student riots in San Francisco last year that grew out of a session there of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The other is "Communism on the Map," which pictures the United States as falling victim to Communist encirclement and subversion.

The course purports to give a scholarly résumé and analysis of world communism, with particular emphasis on its impact on the United States since World War II.

The principal theme is that the American way of life is being subtly but systematically undermined by Communist fifth columnists and their "stooges," who often operate under the guise of socialism.

Evidence of their influence, the course points out, is found chiefly on the campuses of American colleges, among the Protestant clergy and in the policy-making levels of the Federal Government.

SCHOOL HAILED

The Glenview school was adjudged a great success by its sponsors and participants, and also, apparently, by many residents of this area who had no part in it.

Jack Mabley, who at the time was a columnist for the Chicago Daily News and president of the Glenview Village Board, wrote approvingly of the venture in his column. He also sponsored a resolution of commendation by the village board that passed with only one negative vote.

But there were a number of dissenting views. Those were based chiefly on the grounds that the school fostered an atmosphere of suspicion and intolerance toward persons of moderate and liberal political convictions, and that it held up to ridicule and criticism certain established foreign policy positions of the Federal Government that the Navy was required to support.

One of the dissenters was Mrs. Norma Morrison, a housewife who serves on the Glenview Village Board. Mrs. Morrison refused to vote in favor of the commendatory resolution.

"I received a number of rather nasty telephone calls about it," she said recently, "most of them anonymous and at night. They accused me of being a 'Red' or 'pink' or 'anti-Catholic'—which, of course, I am not."

"And the next meeting of the board," she declared, "a resolution was prepared demanding my resignation, but Jack Mabley ruled it out of order and refused to let it come up."

PROFESSOR'S TELEGRAM

Another dissenter was Dr. Tyler Thompson, a professor of religion at Northwestern University and a Democratic candidate for the House last fall. While the school was in progress last September, he sent this telegram to William B. Franke, then Secretary of the Navy:

"I wish to protest the apparent official link of the Navy to the political propaganda being disseminated at the Education for American Security [as the Schwarz school was called] at Glenview Naval Air Station. Official program and early publicity clearly indicate Naval sponsorship. Please investigate."

The result was an official denial of direct Navy sponsorship of the school. In the following weeks, there turned up on drug store counters and in the mail boxes of various North Shore homes and offices a four-page document purporting to link Dr. Thompson with Communist and Communist-front organizations. It bore no name or return address.

The pamphlet noted Dr. Thompson's membership in or cooperation with such organizations as the Methodist Federation for Social Action, Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact and the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran [Immigration] Act. Each of these groups, it said, had been cited for its Communist affiliation or sympathies either by the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

CITES THE WORKER

It also carried the following entry:

"The Worker' (midwest edition), official publication of the Communist Party, USA, published an article on June 5, 1950, in which it indicated that Tyler Thompson is 'receiving wide and significant support in his campaign' . . . and is generally favorable in tone."

"It should be noted that it is not the practice of 'The Worker' to give favorable publicity to candidates for political office unless that paper has a particular interest in their candidacy."

The leaflet was turned over to the F.B.I. for investigation as a possible violation of the Corrupt Practices Act. As a result, Miles M. Vondra, Jr., a Glenview insurance man who claims active membership in one of the many Birch Society units in the neighborhood, was indicted last January. He is scheduled to go on trial in Federal District Court on May 22.

Dr. Thompson was soundly beaten in the election. But he attributes his defeat as much to the "overwhelming Republicanism" of this district as to the leaflet.

LETTER TO THE NAVY

Long after the anti-communism school was concluded, an office for the Education for American Security program was maintained at the naval station. A few months ago, thirty citizens of the area signed another letter of protest to the Secretary of the Navy. Mrs. Morrison was among them. The letter became public.

In April, Mrs. Morrison was a candidate for re-election to the Glenview Village Board. She was supported by the Caucus party, in which several of the letter's signers were also active. She said recently that she and several other Caucus candidates had been targets of a "whispering campaign" in which the letter to the Secretary was cited as evidence that their "Americanism" was questionable.

"We won the election," she said, "but there has been a great deal of bitterness left over from it. Our town is divided in a way I've never seen it before."

This division has also flared among church groups.

One of the most articulate partisans of the anti-Communist program is the Rev. John J. Dussman, pastor of the Roman Catholic church of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Glenview.

Nearly every issue of his weekly parish paper, The Clarion, contains an endorsement of the Birch Society or another of the more active "Americanist" groups. Parishioners are frequently urged to join "one of our anti-Red cells."

REBUKES PROTESTANTS

In an issue a few weeks ago, Father Dussman criticized a local "Protestant church gathering" for having distributed copies of The Christian Century that contained an article critical of the movie "Operation Abolition." The Christian Century is a nondenominational publication that generally reflects the liberal Protestant viewpoint.

This brought a sharp rebuke a week later from the Rev. Calvin W. Robinson, pastor of a large neighboring Methodist congregation. Mr. Robinson said in the course of his sermon:

"I am disturbed over the activities of American pharisees today—close-minded, selfrighteous conservatives who also (as did the Biblical pharisees) resent having their truths challenged. The John Birch Society is just such a group. It does not have the answers to our problems in international relations, and it only leads us backward into old ways that have betrayed mankind again and again."

A possible explanation for the intensity of the controversy here lies in the missionary zeal that both the Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade impart to their "converts."

Dozens of them in this area, individually and in teams, fan out nightly and over week-ends, equipped with tape recordings, motion-picture projectors and suitcases of books and pamphlets to carry on their mission.

Their audiences may be a dozen or more neighbors in a living room, a Rotary Club or American Legion meeting, a school assembly or many hundreds gathered in a public hall.

A fairly typical meeting was held on a Sunday afternoon late in April at the lake-front estate of Mr. and Mrs. Jay Sheesley, in Glencoe.

For four hours 300 specially invited guests heard lectures and watched a showing of "Operation Abolition." The program was presented by three young enlisted men from the Great Lakes Naval Training Center.

The three-man Navy team is a product of Dr. Schwarz's school last summer at the Glenview Naval Air Station. Its members are Milton J. Fick, Francis R. Mills and Robert Cooke. In the last six months, on their own time and without fee, they have conducted scores of such meetings, in points as far distant as Iowa and Wisconsin.

"Please make it clear," Mr. Fick said during a recent interview, "that we do this independently of the Navy, and that we never appear in uniform."

A similar sense of dedication is displayed by Capt. Isaiah Hampton, commanding officer of the Glenview Naval Air Station. A tall, taciturn, career officer of fifty, he described himself in an interview the other day as "a Texas conservative."

"Lenin put it on the line forty years ago," he said, leaning intently across his desk—"America will fall into our hands like over-ripe fruit." He meant it, and it's happening. I think it's important that every American citizen is made aware of it."

There is another side to this coin of fear that has become so much a part of the currency on the North Shore. It was noted by a woman school teacher in Winnetka the other day. Some of her family had lived in Nazi Germany. Asking that she not be quoted by name, she said:

"Have you ever thought of the parallel between John Birch and Horst Wessel? I have, and it frightens me when I see this anti-Communist feeling getting out of hand."

APPENDIX 4

This editorial, one of the keynote attacks marking the start of the Red anti-anti-Communist drive in the press could be used as a textbook example of what has the general title of the "poison pen tactic" in propaganda warfare.

In the style of Red "psywar", the New York Post editorial of May 25 subtly links smear symbols to the new target group, which hitherto

had been given the hush-hush treatment, and against which there had been no breath of criticism. The tone of the editorial is gentle satire, along the patronizing, supercilious line that is the hallmark of certain fake sophisticated circles that have appropriated the fine, old word liberal as a cloak for what is utterly illiberal. So, the New York State Division of Military and Naval Affairs is "hardly burdened with problems of grand strategy" and "has discovered a popular new battle terrain," which is support of meetings "ostensibly dealing with the danger of communism." The word "ostensibly" indicates that this is not its real purpose, but some other, concealed, aim. Further on, by linking it to the Birch Society through a "spiritual connection"—whatever this means—the impression is conveyed, although not said, that this is a Fascist (Nazi) plot. Even a racist slur is gratuitously brought in by a reference to "know-nothingism." Incidentally, this is the line the Red Manifesto has ordered implemented in its fight to crush the anti-Communist alertness and training program in the United States, especially in such powerful centers as the Pentagon. The editorial makes its point unmistakably with the sentence: "Needless to say, the enterprise bears no serious relation to the Communist problem." The phrase, "needless to say," disarms those who would ask what basis there is for this tissue of pro-Red lies that constitutes the New York Post editorial. They are apparently low-brows if they do happen to question the pro-Red point of view.

No textbook on clandestine tactics in psychological warfare, particularly its propaganda side, would be complete without this New York Post editorial of May 25, 1961:

LOCAL WAR GAMES

New York's State Division of Military and Naval Affairs, hardly overburdened with problems of grand strategy involving the deployment of armies and warships, has discovered a popular new battle terrain on which to exercise its surplus functions. It plans to play war games in the ideological arena by supporting a series of seminars ostensibly dealing with the danger of communism. Its first campaign will be an engagement in Albany designed to get funds for the charade.

The field of anti-communism has become a game in which any number can play, regardless of their political literacy. Thus, the Militia Assn. of New York, a private organization of military officers, is sponsoring an "educational" program under the auspices of a dubious outfit known as American Strategy, Inc. Financial support now comes from private sources, but the State Division of M. & N. Affairs would remedy this logistics problem by tapping the public treasury as an official body and emerging openly as the command post.

Any connection between AS, Inc. and the Birch Society is not being advertised. But clearly the spiritual connection is unmistakable. Needless to say, the enterprise bears no serious relation to the Communist problem. But that doesn't seem to bother the players.

We trust that when the Division of M. & N. Affairs invites the Legislature to subsidize the game, the answer will be loud, clear and negative. New York needs no new adventure in know-nothingism.

Of significance, too, was the first article on the subject published May 21 by the New York Times, a half-column-long dispatch, dated Albany. Crisply, the article led off with a proposed request for funds, not possible until next January, instead of relating what actually was the news, the start of this effort to acquaint the New York public with the truth about communism.

The article was written in a manner to provide basic material for attack, rather than to relate information even objectively. There isn't a hint that there is any valid reason for the seminars planned.

The article follows:

STATE'S MILITARY ALERTING ON REDS—DIVISION WEIGHS REQUESTING LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Special to the New York Times

ALBANY, May 20—The Legislature may be asked to appropriate funds for a series of seminars designed to alert New Yorkers to the danger of communism.

The State Division of Military and Naval Affairs said today it was considering a request to the Legislature to support a program now being sponsored by the Militia Association of New York.

The association is a private organization of about 3,500 officers of the New York Army National Guard, Air National Guard and Naval Militia. It is headed by Maj. Gen. Collin P. Williams of Syracuse, commanding general of the Army National Guard's Twenty-seventh Armored Division.

The Legislature does not convene for a regular session until next January. In the meantime, the militia association's anti-Communist efforts will be bolstered by a privately endowed organization known as American Strategy, Inc., with headquarters at 95 Broad Street, New York.

PROGRAM IS OUTLINED

At the request of Maj. Gen. Almerio C. O'Hara, Chief of Staff to Governor Rockefeller, a representative of American Strategy addressed a briefing session conducted by the Military and Naval Affairs Division here. The speaker was Lt. Col. Gunther E. Hartel, a retired Army officer who was formerly on the staff of G-2 (Intelligence) of the First Army.

"It is proposed that the effort of American Strategy, Inc., be coordinated with the Militia Association to provide a statewide program of public education on the threat of communism," Colonel Hartel said.

American Strategy will assist the Militia Association by providing lecturers and material about the nature of communism. The first seminar is scheduled for the week-end of June 24 in Syracuse.

A generally cooperative, indeed enthusiastic reception meets efforts to counter Red subversive warfare, with only isolated exceptions, once one leaves certain metropolitan areas, as New York City, where anti-communism has made deep penetration in the communications field. Part of the reason may be that these interior regions are usually still beyond the effective reach of the pressure groups identified with the appeasement and "better Red than dead" mentalities.

An example is the following editorial, referring to retired Lt. Col. Gunther Hartel of American Strategy, Inc., and was printed in the Syracuse Post-Standard of September 2, 1960, shortly before he left the service:

BATTLE FOR MINDS

As the American Bar Association declines to urge high school courses on international communism, an Army psychological warfare expert warns Watertown Kiwanians "we are losing the battle for men's minds while preparing for a hot war."

Lt. Col. Gunther Hartel, Camp Drum intelligence officer, has considerable knowledge of communist methods. He was a psychological warfare adviser in Southeast Asia.

He says, "The communists are agitating strife to annihilate our Nation from within. This is being promoted through apathy, racial propaganda and encouragement to 'defiant ones.'" By defiant he means those who rebel against the principles of educational freedom and individual equality on which the country was founded.

Alert Americans can sense this menace. Can high school pupils be made aware of it without courses on communism to show them just what they are up against? The American Bar Association apparently believes so.

But if adult Americans are naive enough to be sucked in by Red propaganda, as Col. Hartel insists, youngsters certainly need a thorough grounding in the

psychological methods being used. If not in high school, where and when can the communist system be explained?

The greatest danger, it seems to us, is apathy. The ABA could do much to help in dispelling that state by coming out flatfooted for some method of offsetting the subtle "conditioning" of young American minds by those by whom Col. Hartel terms "masters of deceit."

It is well to view with alarm now and then. We become too complacent and miss the significance of events going on around us. And if we are indeed losing the battle for men's minds, it is time to find out what is wrong with the "defiant ones" and see what can be done about them.

APPENDIX 5

The assault on the Pentagon in the stepped-up anti-anti-Communist drive began on Sunday, June 18. The previous coverage by the New York Times apparently had been preparatory skirmishes. The big guns were now wheeled into place, and began firing.

On that day, an article began on the first page, entitled "Right-Wing Officers Worrying Pentagon," and continued three more columns long on page 58, spreading across the entire top of the page. It was signed again by Cabell Phillips, who apparently was now the New York Times anti-Communist movement exposé man.

The target was now shifted from secondary positions, along the periphery, to the heart of the anti-Communist campaign. Anti-Communist activities by military officers were equated with "radically right-wing political philosophies," a more genteel way of saying pro-Fascist or pro-Nazi. This set the campaign plan, heaping together in one propaganda grab bag all who showed energy or enterprise in exposing Communist tactics and explaining the evils of communism. The article was written in unmistakable exposé style, to give the impression there was something highly suspect and dangerous that should be uprooted and done away with, in disclosure of the devious ways by which the Reds are plotting our destruction.

It referred to "the so-called 'cold war policy' evolved by the National Security Council in the summer of 1958," thus setting up this training and alertness program as a primary target of the new anti-anti-Communist campaign.

The article began: "The Pentagon is having its troubles with right-wingers in uniform." Just who in particular was meant by "the Pentagon" was significantly not disclosed. But the article went into extensive detail on "the 'cold-war' activities" of commanding officers in implementing the directive. This has "caused alarm among the new civilian team in the Pentagon," the article declared, making it apparent that "the Pentagon" referred to was not the fighting force.

The article follows:

RIGHT-WING OFFICERS WORRYING PENTAGON

(By Cabell Phillips)

(Special to The New York Times)

WASHINGTON, June 17.—The Pentagon is having its troubles with right-wingers in uniform. A number of officers of high and middle rank are indoctrinating their commands and the civilian population near their bases with political theories resembling those of the John Birch Society. They are also holding up to criticism and ridicule some official policies of the United States Government. The

most conspicuous example of some of these officers was Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, who was officially "admonished" for his activities by the Secretary of the Army earlier this week.

General Walker's offense was in saying that a number of prominent Americans, as well as elements of the newspaper and television industries, were tainted with Communist ideology.

He did this in the course of a continuing effort that the general said was "designed to develop an understanding of the American military and civil heritage, responsibility toward that heritage and the facts and objectives of those enemies who would destroy it."

General Walker was the commander of the Twenty-Fourth Infantry Division in Germany at the time.

POLICY SET 3 YEARS AGO

In his anti-Communist effort General Walker was operating under a three-year-old policy of the National Security Council. This called for a mobilization of all arms of Government—military, diplomatic, civilian—in the "cold-war" struggle.

Where the general went wrong, apparently, was in confusing his own political inclinations with the Administration's strategy for fighting the "cold war."

High officials at the Pentagon have said that they hope this example will have a restraining effect on other military men whose zeal in the same cause has been creating mounting embarrassment for them.

"No other disciplinary actions are being considered now," said Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs.

"It is no secret, however, that this sort of activity by representatives of the Defense Department has been a disturbing problem for us. We are trying to reach a more rational handling of this aspect of the 'cold war' effort than has been the case in the past."

The problem for the Pentagon arises out of the fact that a number of its higher ranking officers have participated in or publicly lent their support to a variety of so-called forums, schools, and seminars, ostensibly focused on the issues of national security. However, many of those groups—at least incidentally—are preoccupied with radically right-wing political philosophies.

STRESS ON ANTI-COMMUNISM

The chief ingredient of these philosophies is often a militant anti-communism. The argument is that Communist subversion today is rife among the schools, the churches, labor unions, Government offices and elsewhere, and that this is a far greater threat to national survival than the international aspects of the Communist conspiracy.

In this argument, liberalism is equated with socialism and socialism with communism. Thus it opposes most welfare legislation, many programs for international cooperation such as foreign aid and disarmament conferences, and any effort by this Government to seek accommodations with the Soviet Union. Such activities are depicted as a playing into the hands of the Communists, and sometimes as stemming from Communist subversion.

As part of such indoctrination, citizens often are urged to form their own groups to "educate" others about the Communist menace and to be alert in discerning Communist influences in their neighborhoods, schools, newspapers and local governing bodies.

The genesis of this problem goes back to the so-called "cold war policy" evolved by the National Security Council in the summer of 1958.

That was a year of mounting international tensions when Communist power seemed to be on the rise around the world. Vice President Richard M. Nixon was then the victim of assaults by Communist mobs during a good will tour of South America; President Eisenhower dispatched Marines to Lebanon to fend off Communist political aggressions in the Middle East; Communist China stepped up its artillery attacks on Quemoy and Matsu.

"COLD WAR" WIDENED

President Eisenhower and his top policy leaders decreed that the "cold war" could not be fought as a series of separate and often unrelated actions, as with foreign aid and propaganda. Rather, it must be fought with a concentration of all the resources of the Government and with the full understanding and support of the civilian population. It was decided, in particular, that the military should be used to reinforce the "cold-war" effort.

This was the substance of the still-classified "cold-war policy" paper of the National Security Council.

Its implementation in the Department of Defense was ordered through a series of directives and guidance papers, also classified, directed to the top civilian and uniformed authorities. These officials were told to take positive measures to alert the troops under their command and the public at large to the issues of national security and the "cold war."

How specific these directives were as to the particular tools and approaches to be employed in this effort cannot be learned. But commanding officers were supplied with literature and speech material and were required to report regularly on their "cold-war" activities.

However, it is known that commanding officers were allowed wide latitude in applying the directives within their commands.

Of the hundreds of military bases here and abroad, only a score have become involved in these programs to the point that they have caused alarm among the new civilian team in the Pentagon. Officials suspect, however, that the trend is somewhat more widespread than their reports currently indicate. They are quietly trying to find out how widespread it is.

A typical example about which they do know is a seminar labeled Project Action.

This was held at the Naval Air Station, Wold-Chamberlain Field, Minneapolis, on April 28 and 29 of this year. Capt. Robert T. Kiehl is the commanding officer of the station. He was a co-sponsor of the program in collaboration with a committee of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Chamber of Commerce.

The official announcement described the program as follows:

"The purpose of Project Action is to inspire the citizens of this area to take an active part in the war against the danger that threatens our freedom and American way of life."

"The program of talks and presentations by nationally known leaders for the cause of democracy will bring to light facts and figures concerning the rising crime rate, juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, the general degradation of morals, the complacent attitude toward patriotism and the tremendous gains the Communist conspiracy is making in this country."

The United States Naval Air Station is making facilities available for the seminar at the request of the Twin Cities Council for American Ideals. Out-of-town-area participants are invited to take advantage of overnight accommodations on the air station. A nominal fee of 50 cents per person will be charged. The [seminar] fee of \$7.50 includes two noon meals."

Approximately 500 persons from the upper Middle West attended the two-day program. Among the lecturers who addressed them were Dr. Gerhard Nelmeyer, University of Notre Dame; Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, Bradley University; Dr. B. N. Bengston, Maywood, Ill., and two defectors from the Soviet Union. Several films were shown and literature was distributed purporting to explain the nature of Communist subversion, with particular emphasis on its attack upon American morals.

Among the scores of letters concerning Project Action that reached the Pentagon in the following days was one from a newspaper editor. It said in part:

"Perhaps someone can clear up for us our lack of understanding as to just how sponsorship of such activities fits in with the Navy mission, or the over-all military mission, for that matter. It must be admitted that the local Project Action is politically partisan in a very real sense, although the partisanship is not of the party label type."

Another example of these political activities concerns Capt. Kenneth J. Sanger, commanding officer of the Sand Point Naval Air Station, Seattle, Wash. His activities over the last year have aroused a storm of controversy. Hundreds of letters, supporting and condemning him, have poured into the Pentagon and Congressional offices in recent weeks.

In pursuing what he describes as a program of "moral leadership," on and off base, Captain Sanger has made wide use of two controversial films, "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on The Map."

The first film was produced by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a counter-weapon against those who sought last year to terminate its career. It depicts as Communist inspired and managed last year's student riots in San Francisco, where the committee held an inquiry. The message of the film is that Communist influence has infiltrated school life across the nation. Critics contend the film is distorted and misleading.

FILM MADE AT COLLEGE

The second film was produced at Harding College, Searcy, Ark. It shows the United States virtually engulfed in a world gone either Communist or socialist, including all of its NATO allies except Portugal. Among those whom the film narrator cites as responsible for this condition are President Franklin D. Roosevelt, for having recognized the Soviet Union, and Gen. of the Army George C. Marshall, for having "made possible" the Communist take-over of China.

These films and accompanying lectures by Captain Sanger and members of his "team" have been exhibited before hundreds of audiences, many of them composed of high school and college students, all over the northwest. Among the many letters condemning the program was one published in The Seattle Times of last March 22 from James I. Kimbrough, who wrote in part:

"My concern is not with Captain Sanger; my concern is with the concept which suggests that any branch of the armed forces is the appropriate vehicle for the dissemination to the civilian population, and particularly to our youth, of proper attitudes of patriotism and concern for our democratic ideals. This is the nut of the issue, not communism or anti-communism."

Among numerous other incidents that have been brought to the attention of the Defense Department is the "Fourth Dimensional Warfare Seminar" held in Pittsburgh on April 15. Among those listed as giving "assistance and support" to the program were Lieut. Gen. Ridgely Gaither, Commanding General, Second Army, and Maj. Gen. Ralph C. Cooper, Commanding General Twenty-first Army Corps, and their respective staffs.

Several of the main speakers were highly critical of the Government's "cold war" policies.

One, for example, Admiral Chester Ward, retired, was reported in the local newspapers as having said that "some of the advisers now surrounding the President" have philosophies regarding foreign affairs "that would chill the average American." He mentioned by name in this connection, Adlai E. Stevenson, United States representative to the United Nations, and George F. Kennan, United States Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Members of the seminar were given a list of eighteen points on "What You Can Do in the Fight Against Communism."

"This sort of thing, if carried far enough among susceptible people, can breed a wave of vigilantism and witch-hunting," one Pentagon official said. "Even Mr. Hoover of the F.B.I., whom nobody could call 'soft on communism,' deplors these self-appointed counter-espies."

LEFT IN DELICATE POSITION

Civilian chiefs in the Pentagon find themselves in a delicate position with respect to this sort of activity in the higher uniformed echelons. They are disturbed by the right-wing views displayed by many of these officers. Yet, realistically they cannot either ignore the threat of Communist subversion or be tagged, as one of them put it, "as being against anti-communism."

"The real problem," he went on, "is one of proportion. Nearly every responsible official I know of thinks that the real war against communism has to be fought in the international arena as it's political, diplomatic, economic and in a limited sense, military. That, certainly, is the way the official policies of this Government are geared."

"When, as these fellows do, you change the target to looking for spies under the bed or in the P.T.A., you divert that much energy and support away from the main objective of the 'cold war.' And at the same time, you instill fear and distrust of our Government and its leader."

Reinforcing his point, he took from his desk a memorandum from Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, which has been circulated as "guidance" throughout the services. In part, it said:

"After the President has taken a position, has established a policy, or after appropriate officials in the Defense Department have established a policy, I expect that no member of the department, either civilian or military, will discuss that policy other than in a way to support it before the public."

The dilemma of these officials is deepened by two other considerations. One is that the experience of the servicemen captured by the Communists during the Korean War revealed a serious gap in the moral stamina and the patriotic dedication of a good part of American youth.

This has greatly alarmed many military men who believe that the nation must breed a tougher type of soldier if it is to survive in another war. To many schooled

In the military discipline, there is a link between this moral and intellectual "softness" and certain social and political trends in American life over the last two decades.

The other consideration is that under the so-called "cold war policy" evolved by the National Security Council in 1958, commanding officers were encouraged to help stimulate a widespread public awareness of the challenges and problems of national security. Inevitably, many interpreted the national peril in their own political terms, and, like General Walker, shaped their attacks accordingly.

The new civilian team in the Pentagon has begun a careful screening of the vast amount of printed and filmed material used by the services in their programs of troop indoctrination and community relations. The only positive step they have taken so far is to ban official use of the film "Communism on the Map," and to relegate "Operation Abolition" to a "when-asked-for" basis of availability.

"But this sort of screening doesn't directly affect General X if he wants to make a speech about communism in the schools or play football with the Birch Society people," an official explained. "Unless he gets 'way off base, like General Walker did, we can't discipline him."

"There is a big gray area here where the difference between right and wrong—between saying too much and not saying too much—is terribly hard to distinguish. Who is to tell a three-star admiral how right wing—or how left wing—his political outlook can be?"

"Our best hope is that the extremists will begin to get the message themselves, as from General Walker and as from speeches of the secretaries, and use good judgment in what they say and do."

APPENDIX G

The weekly Worker, published in New York and dated Sunday, July 16 (though appearing on newsstands July 14, a couple of days earlier), included the directive (signed by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States) outlining implementation for the Red Manifesto proclaimed in Moscow on December 5, 1960.

This occupied the double spread in the center of the paper. It struck out at the "ultra-right," offered the Pentagon's 1958 directive as a special target, and laid down tactics to be employed concerning President Kennedy and his administration.

Arrogant and obvious as the directive appears regarding the White House and the administration generally, it cannot be brushed off, because the Reds have given sufficient evidence of their skill and facilities in entrapping non-Communists and even anti-Communists into falling into step behind them on some major pro-Communist issues. Both Republican and Democratic Parties could be forewarned of such traps by finding out this easy way about the Red plan for them. There isn't anything new about the way Communists operate, any more than there was about the Nazis. Totalitarians of such type contemptuously proclaim their tactics, in confidence that the Free World, especially the United States, will be too dense to believe what it hears and reads, and unable to see through confusion deliberately fomented as a screen for the intrigue, and too flexible to adopt a firm stand, even if, at last, what is being perpetrated against them dawns upon them.

Gus Hall's directive flatly declares: "If the tactical problem is solved correctly, it will be possible to slam shut the door on the ultra-right, defeat it, and force a shift in policy upon the administration itself in the direction of peace and democracy." The Red aim is described here as plainly as Communist language can make it. The words "peace and democracy" are employed in their dialectical ma-

terialist sense, "peace" indicating the state of affairs which arrives where all sides accept communism, and "democracy" the police state form of dictatorship that prevails in the Soviet bloc.

Hall is as obvious as Khrushchev. His directive confirms that no conciliatory move, no negotiation, can possibly satisfy the Reds, except surrender to communism. They are willing to bargain on the form our capitulation to communism may take, but in no respect on whether we will give up or not. This must be accepted as, in their language, "inevitable."

The showdown can be delayed apparently, during what is called the "co-existence" period. This is the interval to which Hall refers in talking of a "tactical problem" to be dealt with, it being no less than the capture of the administration, as and an objective as Khrushchev's own, which is to capture the American nation. We would disregard either boast at our peril, and in disregard of past experience with Red wishes.

The Red tactic is as simple as it is bold. The Communists intend to use whatever crackpot minority exists at the extreme American right—and we even have a minute, pathological group in Arlington calling itself the American Nazi Party, led by a clinical case called George Lincoln Rockwell—as a weapon to destroy opposition to communism in the United States, by employing the American left in a snowballing operation which would bring our moderates into a new "united front," as sought by the Reds, to make this conspiracy succeed.

The appearance of certain other articles, immediately following this additional clarification of Red aims, is not without significance.

Here is the Worker directive:

FOR PEOPLE'S UNITY AGAINST BIG BUSINESS AND WAR DANGER—THE ULTRA-RIGHT, KENNEDY, AND ROLE OF THE PROGRESSIVES

(Our readers are invited to send in their views and comments on this important policy statement by Gus Hall. Our pages are opened for such discussion and for reports of united front discussions and activities in Left and progressive circles)

By Gus Hall
General Secretary, Communist Party, USA

The threat from the ultra-Right continues to mount in the United States. At the same time, the Kennedy administration pursues a cold war, interventionist, and generally antidemocratic course. We are, therefore, confronted with a unique problem of how, under these circumstances, to carry on the struggle for peace and democracy most effectively. The problem can best be posed by a series of questions.

Is the threat from the extreme Right serious, in the sense that it is approaching the position where it can exert the decisive influence in government or itself make a bid for power?

What is the relationship between the ultra-Right and the Kennedy administration, and how are they different? Is it necessary to draw a line of differentiation?

These are complex and serious problems. Much can be learned from our own history, especially the New Deal period, and also from parallel situations in other countries, as in France. But there are also new and special aspects which need serious assessment. Here I propose only to begin such an assessment.

I. THE THREAT FROM THE ULTRA-RIGHT

In the opinion of the Communist Party, there can be no question but that the threat from the extreme Right is serious. It arises from a situation which is now for the United States. This, the most powerful capitalist country, cannot have

its way in a world in which the forces of socialism, national liberation, and peace are playing a decisive role. Continuing rebuffs and defeats for the cold war and interventionist policy (most recently in Cuba and Laos) confront the dominant monopoly power with a choice, essentially between two alternatives. One is to end the cold war and to seek some form of accommodation to the socialist and national revolutionary world, which would mean a turn to a policy of peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition. Such a shift of policy would meet the most urgent national needs of the country in the present period of world history.

The other course is to seek to contain and reverse world trends by all means, including so-called limited war and the ultimate nuclear war. It is necessary to recognize that the present cold-war policies of the Administration lead in this direction. However, we must also recognize that the most aggressive and extreme expression of this suicidal policy comes from the ultra-Right.

War is their prescription for the crisis facing the country. Senator Goldwater and Richard Nixon, contending for leadership of the Right-wing Republicans advocate a war course, as do their Dixiecrat-Democratic allies, like Senators Eastland and Smathers. They are ready to take any pressing world issue, whether it be Cuba or Berlin, as an occasion for starting military action. They actively and aggressively seek the brink. In fact, Nixon is now calling for resuming the Dulles brinkmanship policy.

The Fascist Network

In back of this political war-minded coalition, there is emerging in the country an organized movement of the fascist type, financed by the most chauvinist and aggressive sectors of Big Business. This is more serious than previous developments of this kind, and holds even a greater threat than the movement led by the late Senator Joe McCarthy.

For one thing, unlike previous fascist currents, the present movement is taking the form of a membership organization, in conspiratorial action groups, including secret military formations. The spearhead, the John Birch Society, is such an organization, around which is gathering a network of older hate groups, fascist sheets, and the White Citizens Councils and other die-hard racist groups of the South.

The fascist network is openly in a sort of division of labor, in conjunction with legislative committees, like HUAAC and the Senate Internal Security Committee, and similar bodies in the states.

It is developing the demagoguery characteristic of fascist movements, such as repeal of the income tax, and is also beginning to put forth anti-monopoly slogans to ensnare middle-class dissent.

The fascist network openly contemptuous of democracy and the Bill of Rights, and advocates the right of "revolution"—that is, in fact, counter-revolution. It proclaims the aim of seizing political power. With considerable influence in government today, it is working to dominate it entirely.

Military-Big Business Complex

Another pronounced characteristic of this growing fascist movement is its spreading influence among the higher military personnel. The case of General Walker was only a symptom of a much deeper affliction. Even the Pentagon had to admit recently that it was "worried" over the extent of Birchite and similar influences among the ranking officers of the military services.

It is now known that a secret directive, issued by the National Security Council in 1958, instructed commanding officers here and abroad to "enlighten" both the armed forces and civilians in their areas on the "cold war policy." It was followed by additional guides and materials, still classified as secret, issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the basis of which seminars and meetings were organized by the military commands, often in cooperation with local business groups. Complaints have been pouring into the Pentagon against the political activities of the military staffs, especially their wide dissemination of Birchite propaganda and of the obnoxious films "Operation Abolition" and "Communism on the Map."

The entire line of policy, coupled with CIA and similar training in subversive and putschist activities, can not help but create our own "French Generals," who feel at home in fascist circles, and are ready to lend themselves to their objectives. It is an outgrowth of 20 years of militarization, of the close cooperation between the armed forces and monopoly in handling a \$40-billion budget annually, and of a desperation born of a bankrupt foreign policy.

This complex of monopoly and the military, nurtured on war economy, has diverted science to military uses almost entirely, buying out the main branches

of higher education and bringing within this web large sections of the student youth and intellectuals.

When you get this combination of high-ranking military officers, the fascist organizations in North and South, the Right Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, and deep inroads into governmental bodies and in the educational system, we can surely say that the threat from the ultra-Right is serious indeed.

The aim of this movement, shared by the varied elements of the ultra-Right and reaction, is the complete destruction of democracy, the wiping out of the main social gains won by labor and the people in the past decades, the suppression or subversion of independent people's organizations like the trade unions, peace groups, and Negro societies, and the incarnation of jingoism and racism as a national creed—in a word, a garrison state that will seek to drive the country to war and self-destruction.

2. THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION

The policies and actions of the Big Business-dominated Kennedy Administration during the first six months played into the hands of the ultra-Right. In substance, the main direction of its blows has been against peace and independence, against democratic and civil rights, against labor.

In this brief period, the Administration managed to proclaim a policy of "paramilitary" intervention against national liberation movements, stepped up the arms race and the cold war, and launched the military adventure against Cuba.

It sought to "cool off" the Freedom Riders, and has evaded legislative and executive action in the field of civil rights.

It invoked the Taft-Hartley law against the maritime strikers.

The Department of Justice declares the intention of the Administration to follow through on the fateful Supreme Court anti-Communist decisions by renewed vigorous prosecution of the Communist Party.

By proclaiming Communism the "real and imminent danger," President Kennedy has acceded to the central pretext under which the ultra-Right and fascist hordes seek their aims, and has thereby stimulated reaction.

Not on Fascist Road

The Kennedy Administration pursues this course because it is dominated by the big monopolies and financiers whose interests it serves. This must be kept firmly in mind. Yet, while recognizing that it has taken measures which further curtail democratic rights, it would be a serious mistake to consider the Kennedy Administration as embarked at present on the fascist road.

To make the proper differentiation between Kennedy and the ultra-Right is the central tactical problem faced by the entire Left and all progressives. It is not simple. Kennedy is not a Roosevelt. Since his election, he has been moving in a reactionary direction. But it is not inevitable that he will continue along this path, giving ever wider openings to the ultra-Right.

If the tactical problem is solved correctly, it will be possible to slam shut the door on the ultra-Right, defeat it, and force a shift in policy upon the Administration itself in the direction of peace and democracy.

Kennedy's Contradictory Course

It seems to me we must always keep in mind the various necessities and commitments with which the Kennedy Administration must operate, and which the ultra-Right wants to ignore and shove aside.

The Kennedy Administration pursues a contradictory course which flows from the instability of the U.S. imperialist position, from the new relationship of world forces (the growing strength of the socialist, anti-imperialist, and peace forces), which it recognizes but does not fully and properly assess. Its wavering course results also from pressure of the masses of people in our country, particularly from the working class, the Negro people, the peace forces which have been its main support and which elected it.

This zig-zag, oscillating course is to be seen in a number of facts: For example, even while maintaining a cold-war policy, the Administration remains committed to a position of negotiation with the Soviet Union—as on Berlin, Laos, nuclear testing and disarmament. It is no small matter that Kennedy, despite all he said against it, had to resume talks with Khrushchev at Geneva, talks which had been ruptured by the U-2 incident.

It is also of significance that Kennedy decided not to back up the emigre invasion of Cuba with direct and open U.S. military support, as criminal and reprehensible as was his decision to go through with the military adventure, and as serious as

still is the danger of U.S. imperialist intervention. It is also noteworthy that Kennedy must still seek to maintain democratic and anti-colonial pretenses in his dealings with the national liberation movements, although his objective remains to contain and reverse them. This creates certain embarrassments for him in world affairs, in view of anti-democratic measures at home.

The Important Difference

It is of course true that these maneuvers, pretenses, and concessions are forced upon him by the strength of the world peace forces, by the deterioration of imperialism, by the declining world prestige and position of U.S. imperialism in particular, and by the deep-rooted peace and democratic sentiment of the American people.

But the fact remains that the Kennedy administration has not closed the door to accommodation to these world realities, as the ultra-Right wishes it to do, and this involves a certain recognition of the new necessities of the present-day world at home and abroad. This is an important difference, which the forces for peace and democracy must recognize and exploit in order to bring about the required change in national policy.

Turning to the domestic scene, we must also recognize that as a consequence of the elections and of labor, Negro, and liberal support, it is difficult for Kennedy to ignore his commitments in the field of social legislation, which the ultra-Right would like to cancel out entirely. As inadequate as his measures are, they have to be fought for in a reactionary Congress.

Shedding of Illusions

It is a good thing that many of the illusions about Kennedy in the ranks of labor, the Negro people and other popular circles are now being shed as a result of experience. I need only mention the deep cleavage, after the Cuban fiasco, among the liberals who supported Kennedy, the sharp criticism from labor following his use of Taft-Hartley, the scorn with which many Negro leaders and militants greeted the "cooling off" proposition with respect to implementing of the rights of Negro Americans, the vigor with which the youth movement fights the anti-democratic attack.

Moreover, there is a growing insistence in the ranks of labor and among other people's forces upon more adequate and far-reaching measures to meet the severe problem of mounting unemployment, which has become a permanent fixture affecting the lives of millions. The paltry measures of the Administration leave practically unsolved the many accumulating social problems arising from automation, the impoverishment of entire regions, the permanent eviction of millions of farmers from production, the old and new slum areas, the special suffering of the masses of Negro, Puerto Ricans and other underprivileged Americans, the crisis of the educational system, and the chaotic conditions of the Metropolitan areas. Much more needs to be done to even approach the solution of problems of the aged, public health and the youth. The rising mass movements in the country bear witness to the growing determination of the people to find positive solutions.

It would be wishful thinking to assume that all liberal or forward-looking forces in the Kennedy camp, who must in their way participate in turning the tide, are equally aware of the double role played by Kennedy. These elements can become an effective positive force once they realize it is necessary to fight Kennedy's cold war and antidemocratic policies in order to defend democracy and to close the door to the extreme Right and defeat the threat from that direction.

AFL-CIO Cold War Resolution

We need to be aware that when people in large numbers become disillusioned or panicky there is always the danger that they may be entrapped by the demagoguery of the ultra-Right, especially when their leaders become the instruments or allies of monopoly. For example, the recent statement of the AFL-CIO executive council, drawn up by professional anti-Communists, supports the most aggressive warlike incitement in the so-called Berlin crisis, and even urges the resumption of nuclear testing.

Such a position can only have the most harmful effects upon the struggles of the trade unions themselves for economic and social demands, help the employers weaken the unions, and open the door wide to the ultra-Right type of demagoguery within labor itself. The council resolution, I am sure, does not represent the view of most trade unionists, nor even of all heads and officers of the unions in the executive council. It is about time that labor leaders with views closer to the feelings of the membership should speak out clearly against the cold war and reactionary position which is imposed by a small group at the top.

The Main Enemy

To sum up on this point, it seems to me that the way to meet the unique tactical problem presented by a threat from the extreme Right and by an Administration moving in a reactionary direction is somewhat along these lines.

It would be a serious mistake to underestimate the dangers to peace and democracy of the Kennedy Administration. It would be no less serious a mistake to under-rate the possibilities of pressuring it in another direction. It is essential to fight imperialism, war, and reactionary measures whether they come from the Kennedy government or the ultra-Right.

However, the situation requires that the main direction of the attack should be at the warmongering and fascist forces, who are pressuring the Kennedy Administration further to the Right. At the same time, every policy or action of Kennedy that plays into the hands of the Right should be sharply opposed and criticized, building up the pressures upon the Administration for a change of policy in the direction of peaceful co-existence and defense of democracy.

It is necessary to work for the widest united front of all labor, Negro people, peace and progressive forces in the country, embracing democratic elements of all political views, in a struggle against Big Business reaction and war danger. It is essential to organize a counteroffensive against Big Business attacks on the people—for improving conditions at the expense of the monopolists, for jobs, for equal rights for the Negro people, and above all for the preservation of peace and democracy. In all this, the working class, the labor movement, should be the basis.

As I have already said, this is not simple. But it can be done. It has been done before during the Roosevelt days, particularly because of the role played by a resurgent labor movement. It can be done again. It will take great efforts, sacrifice, and fighting spirit.

Above all, it requires a common outlook and united front activity in all fields by the Left and progressive forces, Communist and non-Communist. Without the unity of such forces in the ranks of labor, among the Negro people, in the youth movement, and among the fighters for peace and democracy, the promising popular movements now arising will remain disjointed and apart, prey to the mounting attacks of reaction.

3. LEFT-PROGRESSIVE UNITY

How is such unity to be attained? First, of course, it is necessary to reach a mutually agreed-upon outlook for the immediate period ahead, agreement on tactics and on programs. This requires discussion among all forces of the Left, in which past differences are subordinated to the need to find common ground to meet the onslaught of reaction. Still better, common action should develop around such issues and positions that can be immediately agreed upon, even while broader and long-range discussions proceed.

Attitudes to Communist Party

One of the obstacles in some parts of the Left is a sharply critical or negative attitude to the Communist Party. Some of it is of older social-democratic or Trotskyite origin, but another current is of more recent vintage. This is the product in one way or another of the intensified campaign by Big Business against communism, of the renewed reactionary attacks, and of the recent crisis in the Communist Party.

Undoubtedly, the Party crisis contributed to a certain disorientation in the Left. While I realize that this cannot be dismissed with a sweep of the hand, the fact remains that the new reactionary attack opened by the Supreme Court decisions has created a new situation both for the Party and the entire Left.

For example, how can the position now be defended that the Communist Party is no longer needed in the United States? Those on the Left who claimed this should think over how it is that the reactionary majority of the Supreme Court, for its own motives and reasons, came to a similar conclusion.

Naturally, we have refused to accept this judgment, whether it comes from the High Court or elsewhere. On the contrary, we have made clear our firm determination to defend the Constitutional rights of the Party against every effort of the Department of Justice to force us to comply with the monstrous registration and other provisions of the anti-Communist laws.

Is this a service or a disservice to the Left and to the cause of peace and democracy? Would it not be a disastrous setback to the Left and all forces of progress if those who wished to smash us or dissolve us had their way? Is not the launching of a new attack against us a signal that peace and democracy are in serious danger?

In fact, it was the clear fighting stand of the Communist Party which made possible the first victory in the struggle against the implementation of the Court decisions—the staying of the mandate pending consideration of the petition for rehearing in the Fall term of the Supreme Court.

A very important lesson is to be learned from this. No matter what one's attitude may be towards the Communist Party, it must be recognized that the fight for its rights as a political party is a matter of defending the Bill of Rights and all democratic rights, and is the concern of all, especially of all Left, democratic, and peace forces, and not of the Communists alone. This is an old lesson, but sometimes it has to be learned anew.

Role of Communist Issue

Therefore, I think it is clear that the Left and progressive forces cannot permit themselves to be split on the Communist issue, if there is to be unity and common action. Refusal to work with Communists for defense of peace and democracy and for the people's needs is the first step, sometimes the decisive one, in splitting the people's forces. It is the wedge driven into the ranks of labor and the people by reaction, as its most potent weapon against the popular movements.

Anti-Communist attitudes in the ranks of the Left and progressive forces can only have the result of contributing to the aims of reaction by spreading the kind of ideological confusion that can render the moving forces of the people helpless and ineffective.

Therefore, if unity is to be attained in the ranks of the Left as a means of stimulating wider activity—if such unity means anything—it must be unity of Communist and non-Communist forces, with the give and take that is required to reach minimum agreement. If there is one thing everyone should have learned from the history of the past decades it is the stalwart and indispensable role of Communists in the struggle against reactionary and war forces.

United Front Electoral Policy

Finally, let me emphasize what I think is a central objective toward which all forces on the Left are striving. If the tactic outlined in the previous section is correct, and I think it is, the need for an independent electoral policy for the Left and progressive forces around which broader peace and democratic forces can be mobilized, assumes extraordinary importance.

The Left and progressives, including ourselves, have not given this the seriousness it requires, for which we have not refrained from criticizing ourselves, as can be seen from our report to the national committee in January of this year.

The municipal elections in New York and other cities present an opportunity which should not be missed to take the initial steps toward an independent united front electoral policy, around the central issues of peace, equal rights, the people's needs, and democracy. In evolving such a policy and united front electoral tickets, we should also look ahead to the elections of 1962 and 1964, with the aim of presenting meaningful alternatives to labor, the Negro and other people's forces in terms of their needs and interests. This is a big task, and needs the unstinting attention and energy of the Left and progressive forces in all fields.

Action Needed Now

I am confident that the onslaught of reaction can be repulsed, and the country again set on the course of peace and democracy. The Communists, for their part, are ready to join with all other Left and progressive forces to establish the perspective and unity that is required if reaction is to be defeated and peace defended.

The Communists have no self-serving interest in urging unity of Left and progressive forces. Everyone recognizes that such unity is needed to defeat reaction and end the cold war. The situation itself begs for common actions, united fronts, and broader parallel movements—all serving the cause of peace and democracy.

It seems to me imperative that Left and progressive forces should not lose a moment in beginning now to find the common meeting ground, in fraternal discussions, for the united front approach and programs leading to common action for common objectives.

There should be a coming together of such forces in the ranks of labor, in the Negro rights movement, in the youth movement, among the advocates of peace. The effort should be made wherever possible, in the localities and cities and communities, not waiting for a nationwide development, but contributing to it, building up the movement, giving it a living base on which it can flourish.

It is my hope that all elements and currents of the Left will set such a movement into motion, that in their publications and organizations discussions of this kind should proceed. I am convinced that once this is set in motion, it will grow and spread with a speed and depth that will surprise all of us.

APPENDIX 7

A Marquis Childs column was published in the Washington Post of July 14 that was remarkable in two respects: for its timing as well as its content. Its timing was perfectly geared to the shift into high in the anti-anti-Communist drive. It dealt with the main points in the campaign to liquidate the anti-Communist movement generally, especially by pulling the carpet out from under the Pentagon program.

Of significance for those interested in the role "leaks" play in "paywar" pressures, is its reference to: "A memorandum recently sent from Capitol Hill to the White House and thence to the Department of Defense." Of equal significance is its snide allusion to "an Eisenhower directive of 1958, still in force, that put the military in the business of helping to alert Americans to the need for an over-all war strategy."

These points are major ones in the Gus Hall directive. The memorandum was further clarified in the New York Times and Washington Post in articles a few days later, on July 21.

This propaganda barrage is evidence of the finesse with which coordination and follow-through are employed in pursuance of Red strategy in its anti-anti-Communist drive.

The column follows:

BIRCHITES FINDING ALLIES IN MILITARY

One of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's goals is to make sure that the military is not playing politics under the guise of educating the public "to the menace of the cold war."

It was an Eisenhower Administration directive of 1958, still in force, that put the military in the business of helping to alert Americans to the need for an over-all cold war strategy. This was a radical departure from American tradition which has held that the place of the military in American life is strictly limited to the professional task of training and equipping the armed services for the Nation's defense.

A memorandum recently sent from Capitol Hill to the White House and thence to the Department of Defense suggests that, with the directive as a justification, some of the military are aiding and abetting the "radical right" which at the extreme end of the political spectrum is represented by the John Birch Society. This goes so far as to include opposition—implied if not open—to programs such as foreign aid championed by both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy.

There is particular sensitivity about the foreign-aid issue, since the President is currently and somewhat belatedly trying to rally the widest possible support for his proposal to expand the scope of the foreign-aid program. For the radical right and certain of its military allies, spending for foreign aid is not merely a waste but perhaps downright subversive. Men in uniform have taken a leading part in, and in some instances have initiated, the memorandum points out, "Alerts," "Seminars," "Freedom Forums," "Strategy for Survival Conferences," and "4th Dimensional Warfare Seminars."

"The content no doubt has varied from program to program," the study notes, "but running through all of them is a central theme that this primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Fast and current international difficulties are often attributed to this or ascribed to 'softness,' 'sell-outs,' 'appeasements,' etc. Radical right-wing speakers dominate the programs."

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism and the latter with communism. Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of Social Security (particularly medical care under Social Security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy, would be characterized as steps toward communism."

The memorandum cites several examples. One was a "4th Dimensional Warfare Seminar" sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Pittsburgh "in cooperation with various military organizations in the Pittsburgh area." The principal speaker was an Adm. Chester Ward (ret.) who was quoted as saying that "some of the advisers now surrounding the President" have philosophies regarding foreign affairs "that would chill the typical American." He referred to Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson and Ambassador to Yugoslavia George F. Kennan by name.

A year ago the United States Naval Air Station at Glenview, Ill., initiated an "Education for American Security" school. The speakers were for the most part professional anti-Communists who earn their living by specializing on the "danger from within" theme.

The fear of congressional and other critics of this approach is that far from uniting Americans in the face of a grave threat from the Communist challenge everywhere it has the opposite effect. By creating fear, suspicion and hatred it sets Americans against each other. Hammering on the theme of infiltration and internal subversion, it suggests that professional agencies such as the FBI have failed to protect the Nation. Or, conversely, it implies that security agencies, preferably military, should be put in charge of indoctrination of the civil population.

A proper step has just been taken in putting the activities carried out within the scope of the directive of 1958 under the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. If the military is to take part in this kind of activity it should at the very least be coordinated with the programs the Government is actively sponsoring.

There is little sense in one arm of the Government undercutting the policy that another arm of Government is trying to implement. The net effect is to make this country look so confused and so frightened as to be unable to contemplate the realities of the present-day world.

APPENDIX B

The extraordinary synchronization in the Red anti-anti-Communist drive was vividly exemplified by an article that covered the top half of the first page in the editorial section of the Sunday Washington Post on July 16.

The article, signed by Edward T. Follard, was given a banner headline entitled: "American 'Right' Embraces a Curious Mixture." If one sought implementation of the original Red Manifesto's summons, and the tactics in support of it as just published by Gus Hall, here it was. How this could come about, what specific links existed in the shadow world of Red "psywar", what exact strings were pulled far behind, are of course beyond this analyst to say, certainly beyond the ken of the Washington Post feature writer. But this much is obvious: it is impossible for this to have been without propaganda links; for there not to have been any "psywar" string-pulling.

Indeed, this sort of propaganda orchestration is what the so-called scientific propaganda pressures of modern "psywar" are supposed to achieve. The players know only the conductor in front of them, and he may be totally ignorant of who selected the music, arranged the program, and why. The extraordinary orchestration in the articles that preceded and appeared in leading newspapers and magazines about the time of the Gus Hall statement is in fullest accord with the new "unity" line of the Red Manifesto, which instructed the Communist Party to ignore ideological differences in building up support for the position taken by the Moscow-Peking-through-Havana Axis.

The Washington Post feature of July 16 follows:

AMERICAN "RIGHT" EMBRACES A CURIOUS MIXTURE

By Edward T. Follard

Staff Reporter

In this summer of 1961, clouded as it is by Soviet Premier Khrushchev's threat of war over Berlin, Americans are engaged in a strange controversy over the strength of communism at home.

Some of the foremost students of Red activity in the United States—notably the Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S., of the National Catholic Welfare Conference—say that the Communist Party in this country has been "drastically weakened." They say that the area of Red danger now is not at home but abroad.

However, right-wing activists like Robert Welch of the Birch Society insist that "our danger remains almost entirely internal, from Communist influence right in our midst and treason right in our Government." They say that the Red menace at home is now at a peak danger point.

To Father Cronin, the "surprising upsurge" of alarm over domestic Reds at this time is a paradox. He believes that even the claimed strength of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—10,000—is exaggerated.

A CALCULATED ASSAULT

But this is not merely an intellectual matter, a clash of viewpoints. Right-wing groups, refusing to accept the view that the danger is primarily overseas, are in full cry against the Kennedy Administration's program for foreign aid to thwart the spread of communism, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

They are also demanding that the United States pull out of the United Nations, repeal the 16th Amendment (which authorized the Federal income tax), invade Cuba, bring home the five American divisions in West Germany and "be prepared to stand alone."

The political right in this country is held down by a curious agglomeration representing a broad spectrum of ideas and relative degrees of respectability. Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and his adherents are there. But there, too, are people whom Goldwater would detest and people who say that Goldwater is "tainted with socialism." Also there are citizens, many of them wealthy, who are outraged by big government and the heavy tax bite on their bankrolls.

On the extreme right are the "hate groups" made up of men and women who invariably call themselves "patriots" and "true Americans" and pour their venom not only on Reds but on "niggers and Jews"—and who, furthermore, question the loyalty of any who disagree with them.

EMBARRASSING DUALITY

There is some overlapping on the right, of course, and this is often a cause for embarrassment. One of the most active and eloquent spokesmen for the aforementioned money-minded group is Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers (USA, Ret.), who was military secretary to Gen. Douglas MacArthur in World War II.

He has his headquarters at 1001 Connecticut Ave. N.W. and he wears two hats. That is, he is national director of "For America" and also of the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee."

As the "For America" spokesman, Gen. Fellers calls for repeal of the Federal income tax. He says also that the United States must end peacetime conscription, maintain "overwhelming air power" and "get the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S."

"For America" also favors congressional investigations "into Communist-socialist activities" and an end to compulsory unionism.

In testifying on Capitol Hill recently for the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee," Fellers urged the return of American troops from West Germany. Appearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee June 21, he argued against the Kennedy Administration's foreign aid program and also against this country's "lavish" support of European nations which help make up the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"At all costs, it is imperative that we be prepared to stand alone," he said. To this end, he criticized President Kennedy for not spending more on air power. How the United States would be able to finance air power, or any kind of striking power, if "For America" had its way and the income tax were abolished, is hard to figure out.

Gen. Fellers also told the House committee that foreign aid ought to be held to less than \$1 billion. Other members of "For America" and the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee" are much more vehement than Fellers on this subject.

Spruille Bradco, of New York, who was Ambassador to Argentina for a short period in 1945, has said, "Truly, foreign aid is a treacherous if not treasonous adventure."

Bradco is one of 16 men and women who are members of both "For America" and the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee." Among these 16 are two other well-known military figures besides Fellers—Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer (USA, Ret.) and Lieut. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer (USAF, Ret.).

Others are J. Bracken Lee, former Governor of Utah and national chairman of "For America"; Dean Clarence Manion, formerly with Notre Dame University; Samuel B. Pettengill, former Republican House member from Indiana, and Mrs. Garvin E. Tankersley of nearby Maryland.

At the headquarters at 1001 Connecticut Avenue, "For America" is described as a political activist group and the "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee" as a lobbying organization. The committee appears to be well-heeled.

Heading it as national chairman is Walter Harnischfeger, chairman of the board of the Harnischfeger Corp. of Milwaukee, producer of earth-moving and lifting equipment used in nearly every country in the world. Another prominent committee member is Willard F. Rockwell, chairman of the board of the Rockwell Manufacturing Co., and Rockwell-Standard Corp. of Pittsburgh, which in 1959 had more than \$400 million in sales.

THE FLUORIDATION FACTION

Whatever may be thought of the views of such men, not all of them are in the same class with those who are still farther to the right. These not only favor abolition of the income tax, withdrawal from the U.N. and scrapping of foreign aid, but they call for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren, agree with Robert Welch's charge that Gen. Eisenhower in his White House days was "a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy" and charge that the fluoridation of water is a Red plot to poison and weaken Americans.

Is there a resurgence of political strength on the far right? No, according to Herman Edelsberg, Washington representative of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

"There has, of course, been a measurable increase in activity—and recently an even greater increase in publicity—but there's no evidence of a growth in underlying, lasting strength," Edelsberg says.

"Some new faces have cropped up on the right, but the group picture looks much the same. The names of the organizations may be new, but the slogans are old and frayed."

"After all, how far can the John Birch Society go on a program of fighting communism by impeaching the Chief Justice of the United States, denouncing the loyalty of Mr. Eisenhower and abolishing the income tax?"

"It may not be fashionable now to be optimistic about the power of reason in human affairs, but I believe that in this basically healthy America the Birch nonsense is self-defeating. True, our history shows a wide tolerance of political quackery, but in the showdown such movements have always broken up on the rock of American commonsense and fair play."

"The Birch Society carries another liability—it has a fatal attraction for the lunatic fringe. Its leader, Robert Welch, has gone to some pains to disassociate the society from the anti-Semites and other bigots, but it is no reflection on his sincerity to note that inevitably he has failed. So long as his group is based on exploiting anxiety, suspicion and mistrust, so long will it provide the climate and soil in which the professional bigot flourishes."

"There has always been a small minority of Americans who will not believe that our national difficulties and frustrations may be the result of powerful, impersonal ideas in economics and politics but will insist on seeing history, particularly unpleasant history, as a conspiracy of secret plotters whom they can self-righteously hate. I don't believe this group has grown significantly larger in the last year. The trouble is that this is a most dangerous time to have our national ills diagnosed, and prescribed for, by witch doctors."

The extreme right-wingers are angry with Father Cronin for saying that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is no longer much of a threat, but they find it difficult to challenge his credentials. He is a Red hunter from way back and, unlike so many others, an effective one.

Father Cronin was professor of philosophy and economics at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore when, in 1940, he began looking into Communist infiltration in labor unions. In 1944 he made a more general study of Red activity for the Catholic bishops of the United States.

Earl Mazo, in his biography of Richard M. Nixon, relates that it was from Father Cronin that Nixon, then a freshman House member, learned about Alger Hiss.

Now, Father Cronin says that "the problem of internal security had been substantially taken care of by 1950." The date is significant, for it was in 1950 that the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) began his career as a Red hunter. By that time, Father Cronin says, Communists had been cleaned out of the Government and out of labor unions.

What disturbs Father Cronin at the moment is a fear that today's Red hunters will weaken the Nation by questioning the loyalty of those who disagree with them. He mentioned this in a notable article he wrote for the April 22 issue of America, the Jesuit weekly review.

"Unfortunately," Father Cronin wrote, "several anti-Communist organizations in the United States today not only fail to distinguish between judgment and loyalty; they actively assail the loyalty of those whose views they oppose. They envision a vast, secret, conspiratorial Communist apparatus that is widely subverting Government, schools and universities, research organizations, the churches and the various media for affecting public opinion."

"Nor are they willing to let their targets off with the relatively mild indictment of being unwitting dupes of the Communist conspiracy. They are eager to allege formal, not merely material, guilt."

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, is not one to denigrate the threat of Communists in the United States. But even he is concerned about the thing that bothers Father Cronin—that is, the reckless charges Americans are hurling at one another. In the FBI Bulletin of April, Hoover said:

"The label of 'Communist' is too often indiscriminately attached to those whose views differ from the majority. Those whose lives are not led according to what one segment of society might decree to be the 'norm' are too frequently challenged as 'Reds'."

D. W. Brogan, professor of political science at Cambridge University, who knows the United States well, wrote an article for Harper's in 1952 that might possibly explain the attitude of some Americans who, filled with anger and frustration, put the blame on home-bred Reds.

Brogan entitled his article, "The Illusion of American Omnipotence," and explained:

"This is the illusion that any situation which distresses or endangers the United States can only exist because some Americans have been fools or knaves. . . . Many, very many Americans, it seems to me, find it inconceivable that an American policy, announced and carried out by the American Government, acting with the support of the American people, does not immediately succeed."

"If it does not, this, they feel, must be because of stupidity or treason."

Also, there would seem to be people who have a need to hate, sometimes because of their own frustrations and failures. Stendahl remarked in "The Red and the Black" that it was only a step from anger at oneself to rage at others.

APPENDIX 9

Every so often, an old note is struck along with the new, in support of the anti-anti-Communist drive. The Washington Post located a former Soviet agent, who had been around for some years now, interviewed him, and ran him on the first page. Did he say anything new and startling? What he said or how it sounded in the interview, was the old cliché that anti-Communists are "spreading confusion" and are "more valuable" to Moscow than Red agents.

His interview took the additional line that anti-Communist activity, especially in the Pentagon, was a reflection of Birch Society views and was the "fanning of religious and religious conflict." Just to make this amazing example of modern journalistic enterprise complete, it took a vicarious slap at congressional inquiry into communism.

This was page 1 news for July 14, under a two-column headline sitting neatly in the expanded anti-anti-Communist drive. Here is the article:

EX-Spy SAYS ANTI-RED AID SOVIET AIMS IN U.S.

By RASA GUSTAITIS

Staff Reporter

A former Soviet spy in Czechoslovakia believes that anti-Communist groups spreading confusion in the United States are more valuable to the U.S.S.R. than bona fide Reds seeking secrets.

Anatoli Granovsky, 38, who was a captain of political intelligence in the Ministry of State Security of the Soviet Union in 1946 and 1948 and earlier had been a member of the Soviet Secret Police (NKVD) said in an interview here:

"The Soviet Communists would sacrifice a thousand American Communists to save the John Birch Society, for instance. I don't mean the Birch Society is Communist-infiltrated. It doesn't have to be. By discrediting prominent Americans, it confuses the population about whom to trust.

"In socializing Czechoslovakia (which fell to the Communists in 1948) we did everything to divide the armed forces units trained by the British and the Americans.

"In 1948 there was very little armed forces resistance because the American-trained tank units and the British-trained air force had been replaced by Communist-trained men."

This objective was accomplished by spreading rumors about officers until they were so thoroughly discredited their men would not obey them and they had to be removed, Granovsky explained.

The Soviets also used tactics to divide Protestants and Catholics, Czechs, Sudeten-Germans and Slovaks, and to discredit businessmen, he said.

Czechoslovakia was a highly developed country, the only one in Eastern Europe to maintain a democratic form of government between the two World Wars, and had a high standard of living.

"Not just backward countries, but any community or country can thus be destroyed," declared the former NKVD man.

Therefore fanning of religious and racial conflict, attempts to discredit the Central Intelligence Agency and to promote rivalries among the branches of the armed forces aid the Communist cause, Granovsky said. He added:

"If the time and energy of decisionmakers is absorbed by armed services squabbling, their mobility and strength is drained and there is no need for Soviet agents to influence American generals."

Granovsky also believes that the House Un-American Activities Committee should be abolished. "Counterintelligence work cannot be done by semi-amateurs," he declared.

Son of a Soviet Central Executive Committee member who was purged, the former spy fled to Sweden in 1946 and later made his way to Brazil where he wrote a book, "All Pity Choked," about his experiences. It was published in London in 1955.

He has wandered around in the United States for two years, doing odd jobs in various cities. He said he came to Washington recently, hoping to cure a peptic ulcer and find work.

APPENDIX 10

The Reporter magazine, in its July 20 issue, ran a 4½-page article by its executive editor, Philip Horton, entitled "Revivalism on the Far Right." This was an all-out operation, that outsmeared anything it had attacked in the past by using the word "McCarthyism," now employed by it as a Pavlovian trigger word in propaganda, without relation to anyone dead or alive, except through sheer coincidence.

"Guilt by association" is said to be held in horror in Reporter circles. Certainly the tag has been freely used by them as a propaganda weapon when it has to do with the uprooting of Reds. But

now, employed to uproot anti-Communists, it has been made into a tactic used more than any other in this new Red drive. Indeed, it is the most characteristic part of the anti-anti-Communist campaign. This Reporter article is a vivid example of it.

One organization it attacks this way has always leaned over backwards to avoid implication in anything that might be considered unfair to any individual, forbidding the naming of names, keeping out extremist literature of any kind. Philip Horton was able to find something devilish even in this. He analyzed it as a sort of round-robin smear, that sought to convey the impression that "there are communists everywhere you look. . . ." When an anti-Communist died or person is to be attacked, presumably all is grist to the mill; one can be damned for doing something, or for not doing it.

The Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, referred to here, has been immune to attack hitherto. The article associates it with extremism, nonetheless. No matter how, any criticism of communism apparently must be roundly condemned in accordance with the Red anti-anti-Communist drive. The similarity between the propaganda pitch used, and the numerous outlets it has obtained in the press, would be impossible without there being some central source for it. A comparison of the Reporter outburst with others published about the same time shows a fantastic similarity, that cannot be brushed off as accidental.

The article, too, is an example of an intriguing tactic in the manipulation of words. Words and phrases that have favorable connotation in ordinary language are likely to be put in quotation marks, giving them a sinister slant. This tactic is being met with more and more. It is being done in Communist literature to distinguish words in their so-called bourgeois sense, as found in our dictionaries, from words that the Reds regard as correctly employed in their dialectical materialist meaning. Failure of non-Communists, and even anti-Communists, to put words, when used in a Red sense, inside quotation marks is responsible for a large amount of the enemy's success in putting across its misinformation and propaganda.

The Reporter article in its first column uses quotation marks, for instance, when referring to "schools" and "seminars", if these are anti-Communist. Other words enclosed in quotation marks are "doctors", "scientists", and "authorities". In each case, a slur is achieved on some anti-Communist. The article ends up with an attack on the projected Freedom Academy Bill, that would provide a West Point for psychological warfare.

The Reporter piece follows:

AT HOME AND ABROAD—REVIVALISM ON THE FAR RIGHT

By Philip Horton

A Texas insurance man named William F. Strube, Jr., who is on the faculty of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, stood before a blackboard. "Here's a Communist," he said as he tapped a piece of chalk on the clean board. "There's one—here's one—there's one. Got him? Sick him! Sick him! Rock him! Have I attacked anyone? Bismirched their character or anyone else?" Strube, who is second in command to Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, leader of the Crusade, takes obvious pride in the fact that he names no names and so cannot be accused of libel or defamation. It is not clear, however, whether this particular virtue is due to scrupulousity on Strube's part or to a feeling that it is useless to bother bismirching mere individuals by name, since there are Communists everywhere you look these days anyway.

And it's not only the Communists you have to seek and seek but also those who follow the Communist line, which Strube has defined as "anything, be it word, action, or deed, or lack of same, whether written, spoken or performed by Communist, non-Communist, or an anti-Communist that aids the Communist in his program of world conquest." With so many people to fight and so many actions or lack of them to halt, it is no wonder that Strube and his fellow evangelists are busy recruiting zealous believers up and down the land.

The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade is not alone in this battle; aside from the John Birch Society, there are also the National Education Program, the Christian Crusade, and many lesser outfits. Although the various traveling "schools," and "seminars" of the new anti-Communist movement on the far Right are not formally connected with the John Birch Society, their preachers, prophets, and "doctors" of uncertain academic background often function as advance men for the establishment of a Birch group in a given community. "You know," Fred Schwarz said recently of Robert Welch, "I sometimes get the notion he follows me around the country signing up people after I have worked them up." Welch is not unappreciative. "The Fred Schwarz schools," he declared last spring, "have already done a superb job of providing this preliminary education."

What sort of education is being provided by these ever multiplying and highly successful itinerant schools? The Christian Crusade, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and the National Education Program, which is run by Dr. George Benson, president of Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas, are all in agreement with the general beliefs of Welch that liberalism equals socialism, that socialism equals Communism, and that our greatest danger is from infiltration and treason at home. The essence of their message is that the Communists, having promised to dominate the world, already are far along the road to conquering the United States because of their success in taking over our schools, universities, community institutions, youth organizations, and government itself. The complete Communist victory in the United States is imminent: Dr. Schwarz says 1973 and Strube says 1966. Indeed, *Communism on the Map*, a recorded lecture illustrated by film, made and distributed by the National Education Program and already attended by ten million Americans, presents a picture of the United States surrounded by a hostile world and ready to fall. It explains that countries like France, Sweden, and Norway are for all practical purposes in the Communist camp right now. For those who may not understand the relationship between socialism and Communism, the narrator points out that U.S.S.R. stands for Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Communist tide sweeps across the map, and the only countries that do not turn visibly red in the course of the talk are Spain, Switzerland, and the United States, which is left with an ominous question mark at the end.

Despite the direness of the international situation as these groups see it, and despite the stress they put on their own roles as "scientists" and "authorities" in the field of international Communism, the crusaders suggest few measures to deal with Communism as an international problem, except such diplomatic moves as getting the Soviet Union out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S.A. Some of them even assert that our military program is a fraud. For since the main threat comes from within, our own military defenses are, in Welch's words, "wasteful measures of a phony defense against an external enemy." These single-minded anti-Communists have, to be sure, contributed some astonishing insights concerning the Soviet conspiracy. Dr. Schwarz, for example has pointed out that his special understanding of the Communist mind and of Communist history makes it clear to him that any number of executed officials—Beria and the Czechoslovakian Jewish leaders—ordered their own deaths to help promote world Communism.

But of course Dr. Schwarz's principal interest is not in what happens abroad but in fighting world Communism at home. The *Christian Century*, which sent a representative to one of the Crusade's seminars in Glenview, Illinois, reported that the "enemies" slain by Dr. Schwarz and his fellow lecturers included "liberals, modernists, John Dewey, Kirtley Mather, Harvard students, high school students, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, textbooks, the American Friends Service Committee, pacifists, the book sections of the New York Times and the Herald Tribune, Elmer Davis, public libraries . . . beatniks, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and twelve ministers."

BIRCH BARK AND SNAKE ROOT

To help reverse the trend toward Communism in the United States, Dr. Schwarz and his colleagues have adopted techniques reminiscent of evangelists and patent-medicine salesmen, rousing their audiences to an awareness first of the horrors of "atavistic Communism" and finally showing the way to salvation. "Christians! to arms," cries Dr. Schwarz. "The enemy is at the gate. Buckle on the armor of the Christian and forth to the battle." There is, of course, a good deal of imaginary gunplay. Schwarz has described how we shall ultimately be shot by the Communists ("When they come for you, as they have for many others, and on a dark night, in a dank cellar, they take a wide bore revolver with a soft nose bullet, and they place it at the nape of your neck," and so on); and Welch has issued a stern directive to his members to fight any legislation requiring the registration of firearms, since "no dictator-tyrant can long rule a people previously accustomed to freedom where private firearms are plentiful among its citizenry."

Despite Welch's interest in firearms, most crusaders seem interested only in getting copies of their own books and films into the hands of their audiences. At about the same moment that any competent revivalist stops his hellfire and invites his flock to make the decision for Christ, Strube stops describing the Communist devil to ask his listeners if they have heard enough. Do they want to do something about it? What can they do? "Study, study, study," Strube tells them, and, handily enough, he can offer Dr. Schwarz's books at the modest price of \$2.50 for a set of four.

This combining of the techniques of evangelism with those of plain pitchmen is also typical of Dr. Billy James Hargis, whose writings inspired references to the politics of the Protestant clergy in a controversial Air Force manual that was withdrawn from use last year, and who is the leader of the Christian Crusade ("America's largest anti-communist organization"). Dr. Hargis has lately arranged a tie-in between anti-Communism and a restorative product called "Nutri-Bio" which his crusaders may sell along with their message. As one disciple explains it, "The practice of good health habits is of great importance in the fight against Communism."

Naturally, the fight against Communism requires more of its soldiers than good health. Mobilization and organization of a community or part of a community—Houston boasts a "Teens Against Communism" program—with a view to influencing local institutions appears to be the chief aim not only of the John Birch Society but of the other anti-Communist concerns. Their literature abounds in manuals on how to go about organizing a local group. Perhaps past experience has led the Schwarz Crusade to advise in one such manual that members with an "obsession about a particular phase" not be allowed to gain control of the group. The particular "obsession" to be avoided was that of individuals who "believe Communism to be a long-time secret conspiracy of some group of men, religious sect, or race, that have been over thousands of years trying to conquer the world."

While the success the Birch Society has enjoyed in setting up clandestine student groups to act as political vigilantes in the universities is fairly well known and the results of its prodigious letter-writing campaigns have received national attention, the less publicized efforts of the Schwarz group have been equally impressive. Last year the Texas office of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade offered 314 lectures to sixteen thousand students and forty-six thousand adults. Together with other "faculty" members, Vice-President Strube also lectured in many other states. "On the average," he says, "I am speaking three hundred days a year." According to Dr. Schwarz, the Crusade program has been taught in a thousand American high schools. One instruction manual calls for "ten thousand groups of 17 each" and claims that already "over 1,000 groups organized in accordance with this manual in the past two years." Available figures tend to bear out Dr. Schwarz's claims. In 1957, the gross receipts of the Crusade, a tax-free organization, were \$63,000. In 1958 they were \$115,000. By last year they were \$380,000, and Dr. Schwarz predicted recently that he would take in more than \$1,000,000 in 1961.

The Schwarz Crusade has its headquarters in Long Beach, California, and maintains permanent offices in Houston, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Sydney, Australia. These are the command posts that control the flood of literature and the management of the traveling "schools" that are provided for any community or business group or governmental agency willing to underwrite the cost. They also offer complete instructions for organizing permanent community groups to search out and counter Communism in their neighborhoods.

Dr. Schwarz's "faculty" varies with the size and importance of the community. A major stand will feature the top man himself, supported by other "authorities"

on Communism, including an orthopedic surgeon, several former FBI agents, former Communists, a former police chief, and an insurance man. In one major "school" Dr. Schwarz delivered eight lectures. ("Why Millionaires, Ministers of Religion, and College Professors Become Communists" and "How to Debate with Communists and Fellow Travelers" are typical titles.) In addition to his activities with the touring schools, Dr. Schwarz has lectured to the staff of the House Un-American Activities Committee, in the Texas legislature, and at the National War College, as well as on many naval and army bases. Dr. Schwarz, who received his doctorate from Queensland Medical School, is generally billed in his native Australia as one of the foremost experts on Communism in the United States. When he is in the United States, he is frequently referred to as one of the foremost experts on Communism in Australia.

YOU CAN'T LAUGH IT OFF

Any tendency to dismiss the labors of Drs. Schwarz, Benson, and Hargis and Mr. Welch as idle rantings on the lunatic fringe will not survive a realistic appraisal of two factors: their growing influence in the schools and their prestige among certain elements of the armed forces. Dr. Benson's workshop, for example, issues a set of moving pictures for use in junior and senior high schools. In a number of them the narrator is Dr. Clifton L. Gaus, vice-president of Harding College, which is in many ways the intellectual center of all the new right-wing movements. In "A Look at Communism," for grade 12, Dr. Gaus is shown speaking from the National Education Program's headquarters at Harding College as he tells the students that "many thousands of Communists" are in high places in the United States and are influencing the actions of "patriotic Americans." In another film recommended for Grades 8 through 11, Professor Gaus reports that a fifth column is working among Americans to undermine confidence in private ownership.

These materials often got into the schools when a "crusade" strikes a community. In San Diego, for example, a major Schwarz "seminar" (five days) was followed in short order by a "Freedom Forum" under Dr. Benson's leadership and a presentation by Dr. Hargis. The San Diego, La Mesa-Spring Valley, and Chula Vista Elementary School Districts, it was learned, used public funds to have school administrators attend the "seminars," and the National Education Program materials purchased by the San Diego Unified School District for \$4,245.61 have now become a regular part of the public-school educational materials there.

Similar inroads have been made in other school districts across the country, especially in the South and West. In Dallas the superintendent of schools, W. T. White, said that a recent Freedom Forum led by Dr. Benson had helped to "jell" a project that he announced in early December: the Dallas Independent School District would teach a course on "Ways to Fight Communism," using books by J. Edgar Hoover and assorted materials from the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Elsewhere in Texas a group of local businessmen banded together to provide a free lecture series for teachers on their brand of "Americanism" and later offered \$10,000 to school systems that would teach "Americanism" with materials they supplied. Many Texas schools now use such funds and privately subsidized materials. In Illinois the superintendent of Glenbrook High School has said that he ordered "half a dozen scholarships" to make it possible for students to attend a Schwarz "seminar" held at the Glenview Naval Air Station.

Although many of the crusaders regularly attack the usefulness of the national defense program, some of their most ardent support appears to come from high-ranking officers. A number of them regularly attend sessions at Harding College and Drs. Schwarz and Benson frequently lecture at military bases. From these training centers, both military and civilian personnel have then been sent into nearby communities to organize local campaigns.

The evidence suggests that the involvement of the military is not a casual one. Item: In Corpus Christi, Texas, a community "alert" was led by Rear Admiral Louis J. Kirm, chief of Naval Air Advanced Training at Corpus Christi. The main speaker at "Citizens Alert Day in Corpus Christi"—as proclaimed by the mayor of the city—was William Strube, vice-president of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

Item: Dr. Schwarz, whose book *You Can Trust the Communists* bears an enthusiastic endorsement by Marshall S. Roth, Major General U.S.A.F., held a Crusade "seminar" at the Eighth Naval District headquarters in New Orleans, where the commandant of the district at that time, Rear Admiral W. G. Schindler, said, "I am delighted to lend my support to this noteworthy seminar."

Item: When Dr. Schwarz held a similar "forum" in Houston, Admiral Schindler's successor, Rear Admiral F. B. Warders, gave the keynote address.

Item: On April 14 and 15 at a "Strategy for Survival Conference" held at Fort Smith, Arkansas, Dr. Gaus of Harding College told an audience of about one thousand, "Your [Congressional] representative in this area has voted eighty-nine percent of the time to aid and abet the Communist Party." Among those who helped to set up the conference was Major General William C. Bullock, head of the XIX Army Reserve Corps Area, covering Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Item: On April 15 the Chamber of Commerce of Greater Pittsburgh, with the aid of some of the largest industrial firms in Pennsylvania, sponsored a seminar on "Fourth Dimensional Warfare" which sharply attacked important government policies and urged community action to "identify public officials displaying 'softness' toward Communism." The conference staff acknowledged "the assistance and support" of Lieutenant General Ridgely Gaither, Commanding General, Second United States Army, and his staff; and of Major General Ralph C. Cooper, Commanding General, XXI United States Army Corps, and his staff.

BRINGING THE NEWS TO GLENVIEW

The manner in which these connections with the military can apparently grant a semi-official status to Dr. Schwarz and his forces was illustrated last year in Glenview, Illinois. Last August, leading citizens of Glenview received large envelopes bearing the official U.S. Navy return address and mailed under the franking privilege. Inside were invitations to participate in one of Dr. Schwarz's five-day seminars, to be held in an auditorium on the Glenview Naval Air Station. Navy personnel and their families also received notice of the seminar. "Attendance is not compulsory," it read, "but every man, woman, and student who volunteers participation will acquire the experience, poise, and know-how which we hope will germinate into discussion groups being organized in every community of the midwest."

As a result of complaints lodged by some of the citizens of Glenview, the American Civil Liberties Union drew up a bill of particulars and sent it along with a letter of protest to the then Secretary of the Navy, W. B. Franke. It was not proper, argued A.C.L.U., "for the commanding officer of the base to conduct such a school, for another naval officer to direct it, or for the Navy to attempt to influence public opinion of the general civilian public on moral, spiritual, educational and political issues." In his reply the Secretary conceded that officers of the naval air station "went somewhat further than may have been appropriate" and reported that he had ordered the Glenview Air Station to cease extending official sponsorship of such activities. The Secretary added, "I am sure that you do not consider that information regarding the dangers of the international Communist conspiracy is 'political propaganda' which should not be given to the American people." Two months later, despite the ban, another appearance by Dr. Schwarz at the naval-base auditorium was announced, and the commanding officer, Captain I. M. Hampton, has continued to be a featured speaker for rightist groups.

Naval air stations on the West Coast have been involved in similar activities. In Seattle, Captain Kenneth J. Sanger, commanding officer of the Sand Point Naval Air Station, using such familiar exhibits as *Operation Abolition* and *Communism on the Map*, launched a one-man crusade in local schools, churches, and civic organizations that soon created deep divisions in the community. During the ensuing controversy Captain Sanger received a public letter of commendation and support from Vice Admiral Robert Goldthwaite, Chief of Naval Air Training at Pensacola, Florida, who was himself engaged in helping to organize similar indoctrination courses for civilians in Florida and elsewhere in the Southeast.

The Pensacola effort, called "Project Alert," is a good example of how the combined activities of anti-Communist zealots and the military often succeed in creating a quasi-permanent community agency. According to its own publicity releases, Project Alert, was initiated late in 1959 "with the help of the staff of the Chief of Naval Aviation Training . . . and with the aid of Glenn A. Green and the staff at Harding College's National Education Program." (Mr. Green is vice-president of the N.E.P. and an enthusiastic member of the John Birch Society.) A series of indoctrination programs were created as the first step of a powerful campaign to bring the message into every corner of the city. In the months that followed, thousands of Pensacolans attended project rallies, listened to Project Alert radio and TV broadcasts, read Project Alert literature. A Project Alert library was created of films, tape recordings, books, and pamphlets.

Once the program was firmly established, the school officials and the P.T.A. county president were named to the Project Alert executive committee, which in due course was able to announce: "As evaluated by the school principals' committee, Project Alert materials were judged suitable for students as far down as the fifth grade."

By May of this year, Project Alert had achieved one of its major goals. The Florida legislature, with only one dissenting vote, passed a bill requiring all high schools in the state to teach a course on the evils of Communism. The originator of the bill, Representative George Stallings, Jr., said he would recommend as the basic textbook for the course *The Naked Communist*, by W. Cleo Skousen, former chief of police in Salt Lake City and a prominent member of Dr. Fred Schwarz's traveling "faculty."

The eagerness of certain military figures to participate in the proliferating crusades of the anti-Communist revivalists may in some measure be explained as dutiful obedience to orders. In the summer of 1958 the National Security Council produced a policy paper calling for the mobilization of all government resources and of public opinion at large to oppose Communism. The original paper and most of the follow-up orders from the Defense Department to the armed services calling for implementation of the policy are still classified and will probably remain so, but it is apparent that the new civilian leadership of the Pentagon is taking steps to avoid any possible misunderstandings in the future. An order has gone out forbidding the presentation of *Communism on the Map* and permitting the display of *Operation Abolition* only on request.

The Defense Department will soon release its own film on Communism after a review by historians and State Department officials. Other films produced by the Defense Department will stress the strength and importance of democratic institutions. On May 26, Secretary McNamara took a further step in modifying the earlier policy; at a press conference on problems of public information he stated: "In public discussions all officials of the Department should confine themselves to defense matters. They should particularly avoid discussions of foreign-policy matters, a field which is reserved for the President and the Department of State. This long established principle recognizes the danger that when Defense officials express opinions on foreign policy, their words can be taken as the policy of the government." Presumably this goes not only for Assistant Secretaries but also for generals and admirals.

THE UNBRAINWASHERS

The notion that there is some foolproof "science" for combatting Communism is not confined to military technicians. It seems to have spread among members of Congress too, many of whom would have little use for the quack "science" practiced in the laboratory of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade.

In February of 1960 and again in 1961, a United States Senate Bill was proposed "to create the Freedom Commission and the Freedom Academy to research and develop an integrated, operational science to win the nonmilitary part of the global struggle between freedom and communism and to train Governmental personnel, private citizens, and foreign students in this science." No one seems quite sure what this "science" may turn out to be, but the bill's sponsors—Senators Mundt, Douglas, Case (New Jersey), Dord, Sinathens, Goldwater, Proxmire, Fong, Butler, Hickenlooper, Miller, and Keating—all seem to agree that it is necessary for our survival: "We must develop a science of counteraction, which enables us to plan rather than to improvise—and we have no such science. We must have trained political warfare cadres—and we have no such cadres now."

In addition to running the new institution of higher learning, the Freedom Commission would conduct research and publish textbooks and other materials, including training films, suitable for high school, college and community level instruction. Senator Dodd, in a speech supporting the bill, said that he "would like to see our colleges and universities send one or more members of their faculty to the Freedom Academy for at least a year, so that on their return they could organize similar courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels. . . . I would like to see history teachers and social science teachers attend two-month summer courses sponsored by the Freedom Academy."

In other words, in addition to training those who must bear the heavy responsibility of fighting Communism where it actually threatens us, the Freedom Academy would provide a massive inoculation against Communism among Americans. To some this emphasis may seem somewhat out of balance, especially considering how uncommon the disease is here at home. Does Senator Dodd mean that

in our schools and our communities the job of guarding against the dangers of Communist—and fascist—infiltration should be taken over and monopolized by graduates of the Freedom Academy? Are we being asked to assume that men and women who do not care to join the Freedom Academy's "political warfare cadres" care less about our freedoms than those who have shown enthusiasm for such a project?

Some of the sponsors of the Freedom Academy bill have made it emphatically clear that threats to our liberties can come from the Right as well as the Left. Before the bill comes to a vote these senators—in fact, all of their colleagues—may conclude that the whole project deserves some very careful second thoughts.

APPENDIX II

With their usual display of ingratitude, with which the Reds embarrass those who have tried to play fair with them, or collaborated, the weekly Worker, which went on sale July 21, though dated July 23, ran an article boasting that it had been the source of the press campaign in which, like a wolf pack, attacks were being made on "the insidious alliance between military leaders—active and retired—and rightwing groups in the United States."

The article, which could be the million-and-first lesson for the gullible, follows:

MIDWEST WRITERS CONFIRM MILITARY-RIGHT WING TIES

CHICAGO.—During the past several years The Worker has regularly spotlighted the insidious alliance between military leaders—active and retired—and rightwing groups in the United States. The Worker was the only national newspaper to report on the activities of the Institute for American Strategy and its annual Military-Industrial Conferences.

The Worker also was the only national publication to expose the Glenview Naval Air base "anti-Communist seminar" last September.

In a July 13 dispatch to the St. Louis Post Dispatch, Marquis W. Childs reports a memorandum submitted to the White House and the Defense Department which cites the close alliance between the Right Wing groups and the military.

Activities at the Glenview Naval Air Base in suburban Chicago, speeches by Rear Admiral Chester Ward, ret. (Washington head of the American Security Council) and an Arkansas "seminar" dominated by Harding College of Searcy, Arkansas, a notorious rightwing center of activity, are cited.

On July 13 Thomas B. Ross, writing in the Chicago Sun-Times from Washington, reported:

"The movie (Operation Abolition) was brought to the Pentagon's attention last year by a reserve officer attending a seminar at the nearby National War College under the direction of the Institute for American Strategy, a non-profit group in Chicago.

"The Institute's sponsorship was dropped by the Pentagon for this year's seminar which is now being held under direct control of the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

To assure his readers that anti-Communism is not being dropped as a key part of the Pentagon's "educational program" Ross concludes by saying, "the defense department is also now making its own anti-Communist films."

The Institute for American Strategy has been exposed as being an alliance between some of the biggest names in American industry, including some former leaders of the America First Committee, and the military leaders.

Admiral Arleigh Burke, who up to a few weeks ago, was one of the Pentagon's Chiefs of Staff, spoke at the last session of the Institute in Chicago, The Worker reported.

The same issue of the Worker, dated July 21, printed this photograph of articles in the May 14 Worker and the July 12 Drew Pearson column, and boasted in a caption underneath: "You read it first in 'The Worker.'"

APPENDIX 12

On July 21, the Washington Post ran a dispatch quoting from a memorandum which it said had been prepared by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for its chairman, Senator Fulbright. The article was credited to David Burnham, a United Press International writer. The dispatch said the memorandum had been made available to UPI the previous day, and quoted from it, including a warning that purported rightwing activities resulting from a National Security Council 1958 directive in the Pentagon might lead to excesses like that of the revolt of the French generals.

The memorandum apparently was referred to in the Marquis Childs column of July 14, also in the Washington Post, and the 1958 directive in the New York Times of June 18, where the press drive to extend the anti-anti-Communist drive to the Pentagon seems to have been launched.

The article follows:

STUDY ASSERTS MILITARY RIGHTISTS RAISE OBSTACLES TO KENNEDY PROGRAM

By David Burnham

United Press International

A Senate Foreign Relations Committee memorandum has warned that right-wing propaganda activities by military officers may create "important obstacles" to President Kennedy's programs.

The study, prepared for Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) was made available to United Press International yesterday.

The report said there was "considerable danger" in allowing the military to continue its present involvement in certain types of political campaigns in the United States.

STUDY CITES 11 CASES

The staff study included a list and capsule description of 11 cases of "education and propaganda activities of military personnel" which have been uncovered during the last year.

"These propaganda activities," it said, "may well become important obstacles to public acceptance of the President's program and leadership, if they are not already."

A second congressional committee has launched a behind-the-scenes investigation of the activities mentioned in the Senate report, it was learned.

The memorandum said the nature of the various propaganda activities has varied. "But running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration," it said.

The report said the "thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism."

"Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program . . . under this philosophy would be characterized as steps toward communism," the memorandum continued.

"This view of the Communist menace renders foreign aid, cultural exchanges, disarmament negotiations and other international programs as extremely wasteful if not actually subversive," it said.

The memorandum said that during the long haul of the cold war that "radicalism on the right can be expected to have great mass appeal. It offers the simple solution, easily understood: Scouring of the devils within the body politic, or, in the extreme, lashing out at the enemy."

Staff investigators with the second congressional committee said the recent rash of political propaganda activities apparently stems from a top secret directive issued by the National Security Council in 1958.

Immediately after the directive was sent to the Pentagon, they said, the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued an order directing the services to establish individual cold war programs.

DREW PEARSON

Birch Aid Toured with Benson

Chicago's AMERICAN

EDITORIAL PAGE

STUART LEE, Publisher

Largest Evening Home Delivered
Circulation in Chicago and Suburbs

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1961

Scandal—Do you believe the United Nations is a communist plot and is working to the detriment of our country?

Anderson—Next to the Communists, I think it is our greatest enemy.

Summit—Why?

Anderson—I do not believe in co-existence. It is as supernatural as fried zeppelins.

Despite these views, Benson took Anderson with him on two trips to Military Air Transport Service planes which cost the department of agriculture around \$7,000. As an

editorial page, the "American" says, "the

the United States cost Anderson about \$100,000."

MTW 2

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, MAY 14, 1961

Racists, Birch Group Meet in Chicago

For instance, last they be written on the actions of crackpots, one should keep in mind that one of the main speakers, John Anderson, editor of a magazine (Farm and Ranch) with a readership of 1,300,000.

At least 375 newspapers carry his racist rantings in a column called "Straight Talk." Anderson, a member of the top council of the John Birch Society, has two homes — Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's secretary of agriculture, and Robert Welch.

From Salt Lake City, Mayor J. Bracken Lee, came to the gathering that included racists and anti-communists in 1958.

Top billing for the three-day meeting held in the Morrison Hotel went to Editor Anderson. Here are some exact quotes from his speech:

"Fascist co-existence is an immoral fraud."

"Down in Washington there is Mr. Sam No. 1 (Rayburn) and Mr. Sam No. 2 (Sammy Davis)."

"There is no other country in the world except the U. S. which treats its minorities better, especially 'Niggers' (Like all chauvinists Anderson can't bear to use the word, Niggers, properly pronounced.)"

The Senate study called on President Kennedy to reconsider the 1958 National Security Council directive.

It also called for an examination of the relationships between the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy, the Richardson Foundation, the National War College and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

It said this examination should try to determine whether "these relationships do not amount to official support for a viewpoint in variance with that of the Administration."

While admitting that the parallel might seem "far fetched," the report mentioned the revolt of the French generals as "an example of the ultimate danger."

APPENDIX 13

The New York Times returned to the attack on July 21, with another article by Cabell Phillips that started on the first page and continued inside for a column. This declared that "restraints" had been placed on Pentagon officers as the result of the memorandum from Senator Fulbright.

The article follows:

U.S. CURBS OFFICERS IN RIGHT-WING TALKS

(By Cabell Phillips)

WASHINGTON, July 20.—The Defense Department has issued a directive placing restraints on the freedom of military officers to advocate right-wing political theories in official public appearances.

This action resulted from a critical memorandum from Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, to the White House and to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Mr. Fulbright is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The memorandum, written a month ago, came to light today.

It cited a growing pattern of high military officers engaging in or sponsoring a variety of "educational" programs ostensibly designed to familiarize both their troops and the civilian community with the problems and issues of the "cold war." Such programs, it was contended, often veer into "Right-Wing radicalism," which expounds positions that are at variance with established goals and policies of the Government.

Shortly after the receipt of the Fulbright memorandum, and a subsequent conference between the Senator and Mr. McNamara, a directive was issued reinforcing the authority of the assistant secretary for public affairs to provide "policy guidance [for] . . . the conduct of any information programs directed in whole or in part to the general public."

HOUSE PANEL INQUIRY

Another outgrowth of the memorandum, it was learned today, was the decision by the Government Information subcommittee, headed by Representative John E. Moss, Democrat of California, to open its own inquiry into the field. A spokesman for the committee said today that the group has completed a staff study of what he described as "Right-Wing propaganda by the military."

He also said that a field investigator would start on-the-scene studies next week covering a number of Army and Navy installations in this country.

Senator Fulbright refused comment today beyond saying that such a memorandum had been prepared for his use by the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee and that he had transmitted it to the Secretary of Defense.

However, it is known that his concern, as well as that of Representative Moss, is directed exclusively at so-called "extremists" among military officers who utilize the public anxiety over the "cold war" to stir up extravagant fears about the dangers of Communist subversion within the Government and among domestic institutions.

SOME SEMINARS EXCLUDED

They exclude from their concern those "cold war" seminars and institutes that stay clear of partisan political implications.

The twenty-two-page Fulbright memorandum cited a dozen instances in which military officers either participated in, or actively sponsored, a variety of "forums," "seminars," "schools" and "alerts" designed to increase public awareness "of the nature of the Communist menace." It went on:

"The content no doubt has varied from program to program but running through all of them is a central theme that the primary, if not exclusive, danger to this country is internal Communist infiltration. Past and current international difficulties are often attributed to this, or ascribed to 'softness,' 'bell-outs,' 'appeasement,' etc. Radical Right-Wing speakers dominate the programs."

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism and the latter with communism. Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of Social Security (particularly medical care under Social Security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy, would be characterized as steps toward communism."

"This view of the Communist menace renders foreign aid, cultural exchanges, disarmament negotiations and other international programs as extremely wasteful, if not actually subversive."

"COLD WAR" DIRECTIVE

The memorandum noted that much of the activity complained of had been justified on the ground that it was in implementation of a "cold war" directive of the National Security Council prepared in 1956.

"The view of the menace of the cold war described above already has a great appeal to the public. If the military is infected with this virus of Right-Wing radicalism, the danger is worthy of attention. If it believes the public is, the danger is enhanced. If, by the process of the military 'educating' the public, the levers of both groups are raised, the danger is great indeed."

Among the recommendations offered by Senator Fulbright were the following:

That the "cold war" directive be reconsidered.

That the White House and Pentagon cease treating such propaganda activities as isolated disciplinary problems by bringing them under stricter civilian control.

That the role of the National War College in providing instruction on "cold war" problems be reviewed, and particularly the relation to the college of such private groups as the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Institute for American Strategy and the Richardson Foundation.

The Defense Department directive, which was issued on July 10, falls short of encompassing all these recommendations. In effect, it does no more than reiterate the broad responsibility in the field of education and information of the assistant secretary for public affairs.

But among the special functions it spells out is his authority to provide "guidance" for all informational programs "directed in whole or in part to the general public."

APPENDIX 14

The Baltimore Sun published an article, 1½ columns long, starting on page 1, from its own correspondent, and the two Washington newspapers ran Associated Press articles on July 22, regarding statements by Senators Fulbright and Thurmond concerning the role of Pentagon officers in the anti-Communist training and alertness program.

The Baltimore Sun article follows:

OFFICERS' PUBLIC TALKS DEBATED—FULBRIGHT, THURMOND TILT AS TO RIGHT-WING SLANT

(By Joseph R. L. Sterne)

(Washington Bureau of the Sun)

Washington, July 21.—Two Democratic senators argued in separate press conferences today about the propriety of military officers identifying themselves with right-wing political thinking.

Senator Fulbright (D., Ark.) charged that high-ranking generals and admirals are sponsoring education meetings "heavily weighted" toward the idea that the country is threatened by internal communism and socialist domestic programs. Asserting that the military "should be kept as far as possible from this sort of thing," Fulbright confirmed reports that he had sent a criticism of these activities to President Kennedy and Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense.

FULBRIGHT DRAWS REBUKE

Fulbright's action drew a rebuke from Senator Thurmond (D., S.C.), who described it a "dastardly attempt" to muzzle and intimidate American military officers.

"In the Defense Department among the military personnel lies the real bastion of knowledge and understanding of the Communist threat, an understanding and knowledge long since lacking in the White House, the State Department and other agencies of the national Government, if we are to judge by their actions," Thurmond declared.

"If the military teaches the true nature of communism, it must necessarily teach that communism is fundamentally socialism," the South Carolina Senator continued.

"When socialism, in turn, is understood, one cannot help but realize that many of the domestic programs advocated in the United States, and many of those adopted, fall clearly within the category of socialism."

"RIGHTLY TEACHING TRUTH"

"Military leaders in this case are rightly teaching the truth, and as is often the case, the truth can and does hurt."

Thus, Thurmond gave his support to the very activities of the military about which Fulbright complained.

In his memorandum, the Arkansas Democrat reportedly warned that the theories of Rightwing radicalism "could create serious obstacles" to the President's program.

"The thesis of the nature of the Communist threat often is developed by equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism," said the Fulbright document.

CITES INTERPRETATION

"Much of the Administration's domestic legislative program, including continuation of the graduated income tax, expansion of social security (particularly medical care under social security), Federal aid to education, etc., under this philosophy would be characterized as steps toward communism."

Another Fulbright statement that aroused Thurmond's ire was his complaint that military officers are blaming international difficulties on the "appeasement" and "sell-out" policies of the Government.

"I hope the charge is correct," snarl Thurmond, a reserve major general, "for it reinforces my belief that our military officers do understand the threat from communism, and are giving their personnel the truth."

The Fulbright-Thurmond controversy centered on the implementation of a 1956 National Security Council directive urging military officers to instruct their troops and the public on cold-war issues.

SAYS THEY SPONSORED THEM

Fulbright contended that on the basis of this directive certain military officers had sponsored meetings in which rightwing civilian organizations took a major part.

He said such organizations had a perfect right to press their views, but held that they should not do so "under the auspices of generals and admirals."

The Arkansas Senator said much of the political philosophy expounded at these meetings was reminiscent of a decade ago when the nation was concerned with Communist infiltration, particularly in the schools.

As a result of the Fulbright memorandum, the House Government Information Subcommittee is making an investigation and Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, has been directed to give "policy guidance" on the conduct of military educational programs.

The Associated Press article that follows is taken from the Washington Star, which gave it much more space than its morning com-

patriot, which focused on Senator Fulbright with a headline: "Fulbright Scores Brass on 'Extremist' Talks."

The article:

FULBRIGHT, THURMOND CLASH ON SPEECH MEMO

By the Associated Press

Two Democratic Senators are at odds over a confidential memorandum from one of them to the Defense Department.

Principals in the case are Senators Fulbright of Arkansas and Thurmond of South Carolina.

Senator Fulbright said yesterday that he had sent the memo to Secretary of Defense McNamara objecting to military sponsorship of meetings featuring "extremist speeches" by outsiders.

"The point I wanted to make," Senator Fulbright said, "was that it is not the traditional role of the military to sponsor meetings weighted to one side of a political subject."

Senator Thurmond, at a news conference following Senator Fulbright's remarks, denounced the memorandum as "a dastardly attempt to intimidate the commanders of United States armed forces."

Senator Fulbright said the principal theme of some meetings sponsored by generals and admirals has been "that the greatest danger to this country is internal communism, and that communism has infiltrated our schools and our churches and dominates our Government."

RESTRICTIONS FOLLOWED

Senator Thurmond, a major general in the Army reserves, termed the memo an effort to prevent United States commanders from teaching their troops "the nature of the menace of world communism."

The memorandum was followed by new Defense Department restrictions on top military men, instructing them to stick to military matters in their public speeches.

Senator Thurmond said: "In the Defense Department among military personnel lies the real bastion of knowledge and understanding of the Communist threat, an understanding and knowledge long since lacking in the White House, the State Department and other agencies of the national Government, if we are to judge by their actions."

"Suppression of the military's dissemination of this knowledge would be disastrous."

Senator Fulbright said the memo was prepared for his personal use by the staff of the Foreign Relations Committee, of which he is chairman, but was in no sense a committee document.

He said he sent copies to President Kennedy as well as to Mr. McNamara and believed "someone at the Pentagon" had leaked its contents.

When reporters asked for a copy, Senator Fulbright said he did not know where they could get one "unless you get it from the Defense Department—they apparently have duplicating facilities."

Senator Thurmond said he was relieved to learn that the Foreign Relations Committee had not joined "in this damaging action." Senator Thurmond is a member of the Armed Services Committee, but not of Senator Fulbright's group.

Senator Fulbright said he took the position that extremist speakers and societies have a right to say what they like but that "the whole point of this memorandum is that the military should not be the sponsor or lend its prestige to such meetings."

HAS NO QUARREL

He said he had no quarrel with military officers instructing their own personnel on the menace of communism but added:

"It is traditional that the military is not the agency that instructs the American people."

Senator Thurmond said he felt many United States policies smack of appeasement. He mentioned the continued suspension of nuclear weapons testing, lack of adequate power behind the Cuban invasion, and talk of recognizing Outer Mongolia.

Asked if he would term Senator Fulbright an appeaser, Senator Thurmond said he had no comment on individuals or personalities.

"If what I say affects anybody," he added, "it is just too bad."

APPENDIX 15

The New York Times on July 24 ran an editorial indicating that "rightwing" Pentagon officers were casting doubt on the value of American rearmament, declaring the Communist menace was in the United States, not abroad.

This was a new tack in the anti-anti-Communist line. There has been no supporting evidence—indeed the contrary. Military officers, the same as civilian observers, stressed the universality of the Red menace, pointing out that a Communist is just as much an enemy wherever he locates, and must be spotted wherever he operates, in or out of the United States.

Here is the editorial:

OFFICERS AND POLITICS

After some prodding by Senator J. W. Fulbright, the Defense Department has issued a sensible directive curbing the freedom of military officers to advocate Right Wing political theories in official public appearances. The available evidence suggests that only a small number of officers have been guilty of such indiscretion, but even a tiny breach of the American tradition that the military does not mix in politics is too much.

It is nonsense to argue, as has Senator Strom Thurmond, that the effect of the order is to prevent military commanders from teaching their troops "the nature of the menace of world communism." As Senator Fulbright's memorandum points out more accurately, the problem has arisen because some officers have adopted the Right Wing radical technique of "equating social legislation with socialism, and the latter with communism." Given such a weird assumption, it is no great step to jump to the conclusion that the social welfare program of the Kennedy Administration is somehow "Communist" and "subversive." It is the propagation of this kind of extremist fantasy by a few officers on active duty and acting in their official capacities which needs to be stopped.

The function of our armed forces is to protect this nation from foreign enemies. It is to counter the menace of Soviet rockets, jet planes and hydrogen bombs that we have spent such enormous sums on our armed forces and their equipment these past years. But the thesis of the Right Wing radicals is that the real menace is internal, and that infiltration of Communists into our governmental and other institutions is the danger which must be combated. What makes the present problem so baffling is that this kind of flight from reality would logically imply that we have been wasting money by our expenditures on the armed forces, and instead we should be transferring billions of dollars to agencies to fight internal subversion. We don't believe even a small number of responsible military officers accept such transparent foolishness.

APPENDIX 16

The Nation magazine, in its July 26 issue, ran a three-page article from the west coast, entitled "New Right in Action." It was written in the now familiar roundup manner, categorizing the entire anti-Communist movement in the United States as extreme rightist, and purporting to expose it.

The article, as a number had done, pointed out the big impact of the anti-Communist movement. Much of the material, obviously as scare material, would only appear so to persons already conditioned into believing there is something essentially wrong in teaching people how to avoid Communist propaganda traps, and the evil and danger in communism. Otherwise, what is written in these articles, to the dismay of their authors, if they realize it, probably had the opposite effect on many readers, creating a favorable instead of an unfavorable

response. Average Americans, even readers of self-styled "liberal" publications, are good citizens, as anxious as any others that their liberties be maintained and protected.

This Nation article, as the one in The Reporter of July 20 (see Appendix 10), boasted that orders to softpedal or suppress the anti-Communist program had come from highest circles in Washington. The Nation said: "... objections were being raised in high places to this sort of political activity on the part of the military. Both President Kennedy and the Defense Department had made it plain that statements of policy coming from the military must henceforth be cleared by higher civilian authority." The Reporter article declared: "... it is apparent that the new civilian leadership of the Pentagon is taking steps to avoid any possible misunderstandings in the future."

The administration's position was obviously being interpreted as opposing the program that came out of the Korean war, to train and alert our people to recognize Communist traps and to know how to preserve their mental and physical stamina under Red pressures. Just who was spreading this impression and the rumors was unrevealed.

The Nation's article was written by a husband and wife team, Alex Gottfried, described as "a political scientist at the University of Washington," and Sue Davidson, "a member of the American Friends Service Committee and of the ACLU."

The article follows:

NEW RIGHT IN ACTION

By Alex Gottfried and Sue Davidson

It was not until January of this year, with the ubiquitous appearance of that profitable box-office double feature, *Operation Abolition* and *Communism on the Map*, that rightwing activities in the Northwest reached proportions sufficient to alert and alarm liberals in this area. Unpublicized signs and portents, however, had appeared much earlier.

During 1960, Captain Kenneth J. Sanger, commandant of the Sand Point Naval Air Station, began to extend his Navy "leadership training program" to include programs on "Americanism" and "anti-communism" for Seattle junior and senior high school students. Sanger also maintains a volunteer speakers' bureau of Navy men, to lecture on "good citizenship" to civilian groups; it has presented a total of 233 talks in less than a year. Last fall, a group whose leadership has ties with the national organization, "We the People," began a campaign to introduce the Navy's "citizenship" program into the suburban schools. They prevailed upon the principal of the Bellevue High School to call a meeting of some fifty suburban principals and heads of social studies departments, to hear Captain Sanger speak on the Communist menace, and to view *Abolition* and *Map*.

One of the teachers who attended this meeting wrote to Senator Henry M. Jackson, questioning the appropriateness of the military's invasion of this area of civilian life. Shortly thereafter, Captain Sanger complained to the suburban principals about the teacher's letter. The teacher was told by his principal that his teaching effectiveness had been diminished by communication with his Senator and, further, by his "identification" with the American Civil Liberties Union—consisting of a two-dollar associate membership.

The two films, in the meantime, had begun circulating quietly and efficiently to a great number of church groups, PTAs, service clubs, schools and military installations. They were shown repeatedly to personnel at the Boeing Airplane Company. Most progressive leaders here, however, had their first opportunity to view *Abolition* at the Washington State ACLU's annual meeting of December 15. The film was accompanied by a critique by one of the student leaders of the San Francisco demonstrations, of which it purports to be a documentary account.

Local distribution of the film was popularly attributed to Boeing, Puget Sound Power and Light, and the Missionary Film Service, a private distributor of

fundamentalist films, hitherto not associated with political materials. At the ACLU meeting, a representative of Boeing admitted the firm's active participation, as well as his own role, in the promotion of the film; and disclaimed any knowledge of distortions or inaccuracies in *Abolition*. Boeing executives were to persist in this attitude during the coming months, even in the face of earnest protests by a few prominent, highly-respected local citizens, Republican as well as Democrat. By February 26, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, Boeing possessed six copies of *Abolition*, had shown it two hundred times, and was booked solid for showings until May. The Boeing management's expressed confidence in the accuracy of the film was somewhat compromised by its reluctance to allow showings under circumstances where it might be criticized: when a member of a Friends' young adult group requested use of the film, he was informed by a Boeing security officer that "we don't care to cooperate with people like you."

It was Professor Giovanni Costigan, of the University of Washington History Department, who unlocked the twisted message of the filmstrip, *Communism on the Map*. On January 24, he arranged a showing to a large faculty group. A statement about the film, prepared by Dr. Costigan, expressed shock at the filmstrip's "irresponsible mingling of fact and falsehood" and its "gross distortion of historical events." Ninety-two faculty members signed the statement; and statement and signatures were released to the local press, which printed the item a good deal later.

A few days after the faculty screening, the Young Democrats of the University of Washington showed *Map*, soliciting comment from Professor Costigan, as well as from R. W. Burgess of the Missionary Film Service. More than 2,000 students jammed themselves into the auditorium, there to laugh uproariously at the patent idiocies of the film, and warmly applaud Professor Costigan's critical comment.

And now the storm broke, with acrimonious, state-wide debate, and a great public choosing up of sides. The Boeing management and local Naval officers admitted to the Seattle press that they had been distributors of *Map*. Representative Thomas M. Pelly (R), a supporter of the House Un-American Activities Committee, warmly approved the Navy's indoctrination of civilians. The *Northeast Progress*, organ of the Seattle Catholic diocese, championed the films; and Father Thomas L. O'Brien of Seattle University emerged as a local spokesman for the right wing. Also highly popular as a spokesman for IUAC and the films was Mrs. Virginia Shakkelford of Tacoma, who some months later revealed herself as a member of the John Birch Society. Fundamentalist churches, reservists, chambers of commerce and other business groups, service clubs, the King County Labor Council, certain unions and PTA's voiced approval of the films and, variously, support of the Navy, of the FBI, of IUAC. Professor Costigan, "left-wing University professors," and the ACLU were damned, scourged and, occasionally, libeled.

These attacks were met. Very early, nine leading Protestant ministers in Seattle—including a Methodist Bishop and the executive minister of the Greater Seattle Council of Churches—denounced both *Abolition* and *Map*. Their statement was followed by similar ones from directors of student religious groups in the university community, by on-campus student organizations, by various Democratic clubs, and others.

Neither Seattle daily took an editorial position on this debate, but it was quite clear from the type of coverage where their sympathies lay. When the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, for example, at last released the statement of the 92 faculty members, it was printed next to a column in support of the film—written by the paper's aviation reporter, who has the Boeing beat. Most of the other newspapers throughout the state, dailies and weeklies, followed this lead. The University of Washington *Daily* gave broad coverage to the liberal position and published editorials in support of it; Stan Stapp of the *Greenwood Aurora Outlook* provided, in his weekly column, the only other local journalistic recognition of the libertarian viewpoint.

It was inevitable that repercussions should be felt in the state legislatures. The greatest spate of McCarthyite legislation since the heyday of McCarthy himself was now introduced, by Democrats as well as Republicans. There was a resolution praising the films and making a legislative finding that they were excellent teaching materials. There was a resolution of glowing commendation for the work of IUAC. Another proposal called for the creation of an "American Heritage Foundation," to be charged with indoctrinating the people of the State of Washington on the evils of communism and the fundamentals of Americanism. Ultimately these, and several other bills of the same tendency, were defeated, but not without the greatest difficulty. They were stopped by the combination

of a handful of able legislators—mainly, Representatives Norman Ackley and Daniel Brink, and Senator Wilbur G. Hallaur—and the skilful activities of many liberal committee staff members, coordinated by the Washington ACLU's executive secretary.

The rising tide of anti-Communist fervor has given birth in the Northwest to numerous new programs and organizations on the Right. Introduced in February was a frankly extremist organization calling itself "A Group of People, Inc." Apparently at no loss for funds, GOP celebrated something it calls "Loyalty Day" by opening a library to supply anti-Communist literature to the public. Another group is Greater America, Inc. Calling itself a national organization, and carrying on its list of board members some nationally prominent figures, among them Erwin D. Canham and James A. Lisen, it is none the less largely a Boeing creation. Although it has made some effort to keep its anti-communism respectable, its pilot study group attracted, almost exclusively, adherents of the John Birch stripe. A tie-up between the military, politicians, industrial and business leadership, conservatives and extreme right-wingers is also evident in the recently founded Seattle American Leadership Council. Captain Sanger is credited with a central role in inspiring and organizing the Council, it features as co-chairmen Seattle Mayor Gordon Clinton, the senior vice president of Boeing, and the secretary of the King County Labor Council. Its speakers' bureau is entrusted to Father O'Brien.

Captain Sanger has continued to be in great demand in the area—even with liberals who have repeatedly tried in vain to get him to accept a public debate. But it began to be evident that objections were being raised in high places to this sort of political activity on the part of the military. Both President Kennedy and the Defense Department had made it plain that statements of policy coming from the military must henceforth be cleared by higher civilian authority. Moreover, early in March the Navy canceled scheduled showings of *Map*. When Representative Pelly protested the cancellations, the Navy replied apologetically that its supply of the film could not meet the growing demand and that furthermore it was unable to work out "transportation problems" from Sand Point. To add to the confusion, a Sand Point commander on the same day decried that the Navy had ever shown the film to any but "our own people." Sanger himself was later to make the same denial, more than once.

Representative Pelly made a laudatory speech about him in the House. His praises were repeatedly sung in the metropolitan dailies, sometimes in the form of testimonials from organizations and individuals, sometimes in feature stories. Misrepresenting criticism of the Captain as due to his "vigorous opposition to communism," the newspapers pictured him as a hero behaving with immense courage under formidable fire.

In the midst of this fevered defense of the local military hero, the John Birch story broke nationally. The metropolitan newspapers at first attempted to ignore it. But as the story grew throughout the country, the *Post-Intelligencer* and the *Times* were constrained to pick it up. Both ran exposés of the John Birch Society, in a series of lengthy articles. The *PI* and the *Times* began at this point to show signs of acute schizophrenia. On the very day that the *PI* ran its first article on the John Birch Society, there appeared on the same page an editorial headed "A Naval Officer's Duty," lauding Captain Sanger for his Americanism campaign. In another editorial, the *PI* thanked Senator Dodd for his demand that the Birch Society be investigated, but could not refrain from the Goldwater-like regret that "some of our finest citizens, with the highest motives," had been attracted to the society. The fine citizens and organizations which have plugged *Map* here still enjoy the best relationships with the press, nor has the press ever chided them or Captain Sanger about the identification between the film and the Birch Society.

Nevertheless, the newspapers' articles on the society, as they identified local Birch leaders, did offer some key to earlier rightwing phenomena in Washington State. The individuals named were also prominent in other rightwing groups in the area which had been at work in ways and with goals similar to those outlined in Welch's *Blue Book*. American Legionnaire Lawrence Timbers, author of a widely circulated smear sheet on Professor Costigan, is a John Birchler, as are Mrs. Shakkelford and one P. C. Beezley. In addition to being Washington State "organizer" and "coordinator" for the Birch Society, Beezley is on the national board of "We the People," along with Mrs. Shakkelford. All three of the aforementioned are members of the board of the Committee for Economic Freedom. Mrs. Shakkelford is also an organizer for the Constitution Party. Shakkelford, Beezley and Timbers have been the chief instruments in a number of "study

clubs" which devote themselves chiefly to attacks on the public schools in this area. Also a member of the "study clubs" and the local Birch Society is Tom Hutton, an associate of Gerald L. K. Smith in the Christian Nationalist Crusade. No theory of conspiracy is offered here as an explanation of the political climate of Washington over the past few months. The multiple connections of individuals of similar extreme views do, however, reflect Birch Society doctrine, and can be seen in numerous related activities.

Perhaps the best illustration of the tendencies of these interconnected groups and individuals has been their attacks upon the public schools, especially those of Kent, which Mrs. Shakelford and her fellows have harassed for more than a year. The guidance program was attacked as brainwashing; teaching methods and texts were assailed; it was charged that children were indoctrinated with un-American tenets emanating from Columbia University, the goal of which was to teach the youth to live in a Communist world. The Kent school board and the superintendent have so far successfully resisted these assaults; unfortunately, their courage has not been consistently matched by other Washington school boards and superintendents.

Nor has the exposure of the Birch Society inhibited the attacks upon free discussion and inquiry in the public schools: less than two weeks after the local stories on the society appeared, another such foray was reported in the newspapers. At Foster High, on the outskirts of Seattle, two teachers, in full cooperation with their principal, had worked up a study unit on the issues troubling the community. They included for discussion such relevant materials as *Map* and the Roosevelt-McNeely debate on HUAC. The superintendent of schools received a single letter and a few telephone calls criticizing the teachers and the principal for the presentation of this unit. This was sufficient to start an imbroglio in which the teachers' and the principal's activities were debated at a school board meeting before 250 persons, and they were subjected to hours of private executive inquiry into their political and social attitudes and activities.

A new program for Seattle's public schools further reflects the political climate here. Billed as the "American Heritage" program, it is not to consist in courses, but is intended to imbue the entire curriculum with a set of attitudes. Five- and six-year olds are to be instructed in the meaning of the pledge of allegiance. Instruction in communism's perils and pitfalls will begin in the fifth grade, with awareness of the Red threat presumably dominating studies from there on.

Although some Washington liberals feel that the exposure of the John Birch Society has gone far to reduce extremist pressure from the Right, a glance at the record, present and retrospective, does not offer such firm comfort. One can begin by assessing the Washington liberals themselves. It is true that as individuals they show a great gain in courage and outspokenness over the McCarthy period; this is particularly striking in the case of religious leaders and of the academic community, faculty as well as students. Yet the willingness of individuals to identify with a liberal position has never translated itself into any practical, organized program of action. The ACLU of Washington, best equipped in terms of will, skill and experience, will not enter into areas where no civil-liberties infringement is involved. On the other hand, an organization such as the American Friends Service Committee has only a fraction of energies and funds to devote to civil-liberties issues, acute as may be its interest in them. The Democratic Party organs and the church groups which took verbal stands against the right-wingers are analogously restricted and restrained. Moreover, the groups which took such fragmentary action as they could, did not in this period of near-hysteria enjoy any spectacular increase in members, in member willingness to take individual responsibility, or in funds. It is not surprising, therefore, that the independent organization which was finally created to act in a concerted way—the so-called Committee for an Open Society, Inc.—never got off the ground. In short, there has not been a massive response to a massive challenge.

And there is little on the local balance sheet to suggest that the dimensions of the challenge have been affected by indignation over the Birch Society. Those who decry the Birchers' smearing of Eisenhower make no connection between this and the assaults on local intellectuals. In the midst of revulsion against Mr. Welch, it is the public schools which are being attacked, not the industrialists and military men who have carried Welch's ideas, via *Communism on the Map*, to so many inhabitants of the state. The reputations of Boeing and Puget Sound Power and Light not only remain undamaged, they have not even been challenged; while the imminent departure of Captain Sanger to another station has brought a new flurry of testimonials and fresh demands for his services as a public speaker.

APPENDIX 17

Never, since the most virulent days of Goebbels' "hate" propaganda, has anything appeared in the United States comparable to a 47-page booklet, dated June 1961, put out by the Communist Party of the United States in connection with its drive to smother the expanding anti-Communist movement in this country.

The 35-cent booklet is entitled "The Fascist Revival," and purports to tell "the inside story of the John Birch Society." The author is Mike Newberry, another Worker specialist in unbridled smear.

The booklet is evidence of the degree to which the Communist Party considers itself immune from libel, through a complex legal barrier it has built around itself, and by exploitation of the double standard. Communists have created an atmosphere in which those victimized by its lies feel it is futile to seek recompense.

The virulent tone of the booklet, with all stops out in vituperative propaganda, indicates that the Communist Party would like to create a new, Pavlovian trigger word for this period in its psychological warfare, and believes "Birchite" might be put into the language this way, replacing "McCarthyite." The impact of the latter fabricated word apparently no longer is strong enough to meet Red needs. Communist deeds have deprived it of its effectiveness in Red "psywar."

The Communists now seek to create a new scare word. This would evoke a conditioned response in a background of fear, founded on the specter of a Fascist plot inside the United States, which would attack all minorities, and spread terror to everyone. This Red propaganda objective is a terror maneuver. It would be what they call the "correct" line for this time, to make the American public jittery through pressure from abroad, by manufactured crises in places such as Berlin and Laos, and by pressure at home through visions of a "Fascist revival." A jittery United States would be off-balance and vulnerable.

This is the "psywar" aim of the present Red propaganda drive, in which the Communist Party in the United States is working hand-in-hand with the Red network headquartered in Moscow.

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UNITED STATES

Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 8/29/61

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 16114-16116. Senator Thurmond, (D) South Carolina, spoke concerning eradication of grassroots anti-Communist drive and gagging of military speakers and seminars. He stated "the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate has performed an invaluable service by making public the testimony of Mr. Edward Hunter and the documentation of Mr. Hunter's testimony. Mr. Hunter has authoritatively described in detail both the method of operation of communism in the United States today and the circles utilized by Communists to conduct their campaign of psychological warfare." Senator Thurmond had printed in the Record the text of the last chapter of Mr. Hunter's book "Brainwashing: From Pavlov to Powers." Mr. Hunter points out in his book "Information coming to the Pentagon made it evident that the Chinese Communists were preparing a major propaganda coup. What it was was not difficult to figure out from the pro-Red broadcasts being attributed to American captives, and the pro-Red propaganda in the letters from GI's that wives and mothers were taking to the FBI; letters that caused the women to say that some strange and vicious influence was being exerted on their sons and husbands." Senator Thurmond also included excerpts from Mr. Hunter's testimony before the Internal Security Subcommittee.

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 66-1731-2043

Page A6728. Congressman Ierounian, (R) New York, requested to have printed in the Record an article by John Chadwick entitled "Red Agents Infiltrate White House" which appeared in the Long Island Sunday Press of August 27, 1961. The article deals with the testimony of Edward Hunter before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

REC-12

118-4047-32
NOT RECORDED
141 OCT 11 1961

FBI
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267 NLS/EP/BS

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for Monday, 8/28/61 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

OCT 16 1961

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

The Attorney General 1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. J.P. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Sullivan
Director, FBI 1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Nasca

April 30, 1963

ALEXANDER IRWIN BORKER, JR.
INTERNAL SECURITY - CUBA
REGISTRATION ACT - CUBA
NEUTRALITY MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-22-2004 BY AUC 60290 BCE/cal/bm

Previous information indicated that the subject, a free-lance newspaperman, claimed to have participated in a bombing raid over Cuba on April 25, 1963.

On April 28, 1963, Edward Hunter, Chairman of the Anticommunist Liaison Committee, advised that he made arrangements for a panel discussion which was held at the Hotel Washington, Washington, D. C., on April 26 and 27, 1963. The subject was invited to participate because of his previous stand concerning news management and because of his previous leaflet-dropping activities over Cuba. In this connection, Hunter alleged that the Administration has lied to the press and the American public concerning Cuba.

Hunter stated that the subject spoke on April 26, 1963, and claimed to have participated in a bombing of Cuba on April 25, 1963. This was the first time Hunter had heard of this matter. Hunter believes that he will eventually learn all of the details from the subject. However, he doubted that he would ever disclose the details he might learn to the FBI because he feels that the FBI is being utilized as a tool by the Administration in this matter.

Hunter stated that following the subject's disclosure the subject introduced a Cuban by the name of Batista as a person who was with him on the above-mentioned raid. Batista may be identical with Laureano Batista Falla, an anti-Castro leader who is one of the subject's associates.

Our investigation is continuing and the pertinent data will be made available to you.

623

The Deputy Attorney General

J. Walter Yeagley
Assistant Attorney General

NOTE: See cover memo Wannall to Sullivan, 4/30/63, same caption, prepared by VHN:djw

118-4047 (Hunter)

ORIGINAL FILED IN

2-9-60

60267 NLS/EP/BS

W. C. Sullivan

W. B. Wannall

ALEXANDER IRVIN BAKER, JR.
INTERNAL SECURITY - CUBA
REGISTRATION ACT - CUBA
NEUTRALITY MATTERS

April 30, 1963

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. J.P. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Nasca

Subject, free-lance newspaperman, while speaking before Anticommunist Liaison Committee (ACLC), Washington, D. C., on 4/26/63, claimed to have participated in bombing raid over Cuba on 4/25/63.

The "Evening Star" on 4/29/63 carried article captioned "Anti-Red Unit Charges Harassment by FBI." Review of article indicates that Edward Hunter, ACLC Chairman, accused Attorney General of using the FBI as a political machine against anticommunist groups to try to prevent them from operating. Hunter stated that at least five persons had been contacted on Sunday (4/28/63) by the FBI concerning the bombing raid in which subject claims to have participated.

With reference to above-mentioned article, Washington Field Office (WFO) interviewed subject on 4/27/63. Subject declined to discuss raid or what he had said at ACLC meeting. He indicated, however, that press reports concerning raid were true. In view of this, WFO properly endeavored to establish what subject had said at meeting by interviewing individuals who had heard him speak. One of these was Edward Hunter, ACLC Chairman, who was interviewed by WFO 4/28/63.

Hunter was friendly, stated subject announced his participation in bombing raid over Cuba at meeting and that subject introduced Cuban named Batista as person who took part in raid with him. Hunter stated he believed he would eventually learn details of raid from Batista but doubted that he would ever disclose these details to FBI as he feels FBI is being used as tool by Administration in this

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

If you approve, the attached letter will be sent Attorney General informing him of our interview with Hunter.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267 NLS/EP

118-4047-
NOT RECORDED
13 MAY 13 1963

(Hunter)

ORIGINAL FILED IN 11-4623

Letters to the Editor

Comment

Editorially, you indicate that Anti-Communist Liaison, and myself as its chairman, have criticized J. Edgar Hoover for "softness on communism." You quote, to the effect, an AP dispatch. The paragraph you omitted plainly stated that the criticism was of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and quoted me as declaring he was "using the FBI as a political machine."

~~EDWARD HUNTER~~

(The record is so unimpeachable... but with the observation that, if Mr. Hunter's analysis is sound, FBI director Hoover cannot be absolved of silently permitting his agency to be so "used."—Ed.)

REC- 51

File

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Casper ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans ☒
 Gale ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Tele Room ☒
 Holmes ☒
 Gandy ☒

b7C

REC- 51

118-4047-A
 NOT RECORDED
 149 MAY 16 1963

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
 The Washington Daily News _____
 The Evening Star _____
 New York Herald Tribune _____
 New York Journal-American _____
 New York Mirror _____
 New York Daily News _____
 New York Post _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Worker _____
 The New Leader _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 Date _____

51 MAY 20 1963

MAY 10 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/0

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *rec 72*

DATE: May 15, 1968

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr. *mm*

DATE: 06-10-2005

CLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 BCE/CAL/sw

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 06-10-2030

#997911

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001

Remains classified

SUBJECT: EDWARD HUNTER
INFORMATION CONCERNING
UNAUTHORIZED PUBLICATION OR USE OF COMMUNICATIONS

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

b7C

Reference is made to the enclosed letter from
New York dated May 7, 1968.

b3

b7C

b7D

[redacted]
received information from Oliver Pilat, a former "New York
Post" writer, that an "outfit" in Washington, D. C., has tapped
telephones of newspapermen in Washington, D. C., and has made
voice charts for identification. Pilat received his information
from Edward Hunter, described as a former newspaperman and
possibly [redacted]

For your information, [redacted]

b1

[redacted] Our files indicate that he has written
several books on communism, and he is also a lecturer and a
specialist on psychological warfare. His writings and state-
ments have been anticommunist. Over the years, Hunter has
been a strong critic of CIA and State.

b3

b3

[redacted] two of
his references were Victor Riesel, well-known columnist, and
Oliver Pilat, who at that time was Labor Editor for the
"New York Post." Riesel recommended Hunter highly and referred
to him as one who had opposed the communist faction in the
Newspaper Guild.

In 1963 Hunter was connected with a group known as
the Anticommunist Liaison Committee (ALC). "The Washington
Evening Star" of April 29, 1963, carried an article which

Enclosure *sent 5-16-68* ST-103

118-4047

SJP:clb *plb*

(9)

CLASSIFIED BY *100-2-57* (Derivative)
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

15 MAY 20 1968

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Bishop
1 - Mr. Rosen
1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. McGowan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Papich

66 MAY 24 1968

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum D. J. Brennan, Jr., to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: EDWARD HUNTER
INFORMATION CONCERNING
UNAUTHORIZED PUBLICATION OR USE OF COMMUNICATIONS

quoted Hunter as saying that the Attorney General was using the FBI as a political machine against anticommunist groups.

ACTION:

This matter has been discussed with the General Investigative Division which will handle appropriate notification of the Department.

WCS

ADDENDUM: GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION, 5/16/68 JWH:mt

New York is being instructed to submit information regarding possible UPUC violation in form suitable for dissemination to the Criminal Division of the Department, appropriately protecting their source if necessary.

MS

Brennan

✓
Cent

A

6

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-)

SUBJECT: ED HUNTER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

~~SECRET~~

DATE:

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

b7C

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

[redacted] advised on 5/6/68 that on 5/5/68 he had a lengthy conversation with OLIVER PILAT, former "New York Post" writer. In the course of this conversation PILAT stated that he received a letter from one ED HUNTER, a former newspaperman in which he told PILAT that he learned of an "outfit" in Washington, D.C. which has tapped the telephones of all known newspapermen in Washington, D.C. and has made voice charts of the voices of these newspapermen for identification. HUNTER's letter suggested that PILAT may desire to use this information as the subject of an article in a newspaper or magazine.

b7C

b7D

PILAT indicated to [redacted] that he did not know where he could sell such an article.

According to [redacted] both he and PILAT are of the opinion [redacted]

[redacted] cautioned that the above is from a personal conversation with PILAT and that any inquiries of the principals would reveal [redacted]

HUNTER is identical with case file: EDWARD HUNTER, NY File: 118-1967, Bufile: 118-4047.

DECLASSIFIED BY AUC 60290 DCE/CAL/SW
ON 06-10-2005
Classification per OGA letter dated 04-22-2005
Info. declassified

REC-12

#997911

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

JAH:rmp
(3)

10 MAY 1968

EX-116

CLASSIFIED BY AUC/EP 60290 (unclassified)
DECLASSIFIED BY

~~SECRET~~

CRIME RESEARCH



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SAC, New York

May 16, 1968

REC- 12

Director, FBI

118-4047-

EX-116

EDWARD HUNTER
INFORMATION CONCERNING
UNAUTHORIZED PUBLICATION OR USE OF
COMMUNICATIONS

1 -

b7C

Reurlet 5/7/68.

The allegation of wire tapping set forth in referenced letter relates to a possible violation of the UPUC Statute, and therefore, must be submitted to the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice for its determination as to whether or not any investigation or other possible Federal action is warranted.

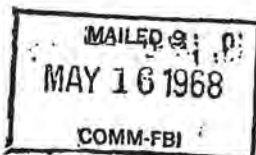
By return mail submit information as set forth in referenced letter by LHM suitable for dissemination appropriately protecting your source if necessary. Include available background information from your file on Hunter, which may be pertinent and of value to the Criminal Division in making a determination.

JWH:mtw

(4)

NOTE: SEE MEMO D. J. BRENNAN, JR., TO W. C. SULLIVAN, 5/15/68.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

TELETYPE UNIT

241968

FBI

Date: 5/27/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (139-New) (C)

SUBJECT: EDWARD HUNTER

INFORMATION CONCERNING
UNAUTHORIZED PUBLICATION OR USE
OF COMMUNICATIONSALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 4-3-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

Classification per OGA letter dated 04-04-2001
Remains unclassified

ReBulet 5/16/68, and NYlet 5/7/68.

Attached hereto are 10 copies of an LHM containing
information furnished by __________ cautioned that the information in LHM is from
a personal conversation between himself and OLIVER PILAT
a writer who formerly worked for the New York Post and that
inquiries of the principals could reveal _____The files of the NYO contain a case file on HUNTER
_____ (NY 118-1967, Bufile 118-4047)
as well as identical references none of which are believed to
be pertinent to this case.

C. C. - 118-1967

3-Bureau (RM) (Encls. 10) ENCLOSURE
1-New York (139-New)JAH:far
(5)1cc: AAG Civil Rights Division
Form 3-94 MAY 29 19681cc CIVIL RIGHTS UNIT
5354ms

12 MAY 28 1968

66 JUN 6 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
May 27, 1968

Edward Hunter

It was recently learned that Oliver Pilat, a writer, formerly employed by the New York Post newspaper, had been in contact with Edward Hunter a former newspaperman and author. According to Pilat, Hunter stated that he learned of "an outfit" in Washington, D.C. which has tapped the telephones of all known newspaperman in Washington, D.C. and has made voice charts of the voices of these newspapermen for identification purposes.

Hunter suggested that Pilat may be able to use this information as the subject of an article in a newspaper or magazine but Pilat did not know where he could sell such an article.

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DATE 2-9-00 BY 60267NLS/EP/BS

118-404735

ENCLOSURE